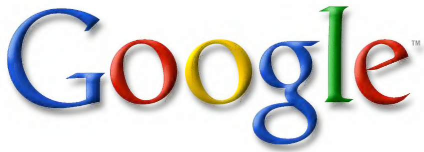
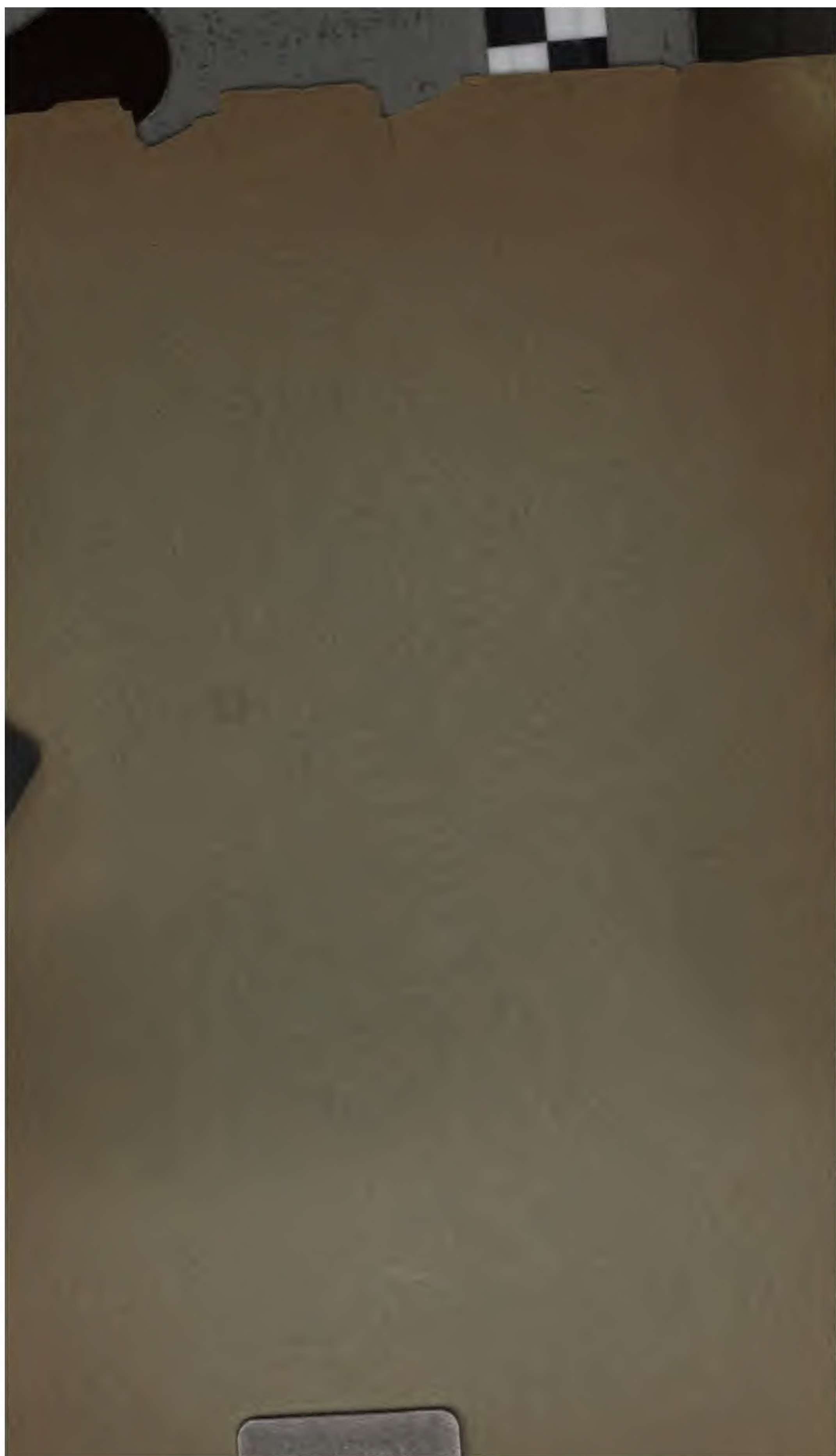




ON THE

SOURCES OF THE DHARMA-ŚĀSTRAS

OF

MANU AND YĀJÑAVALKYA

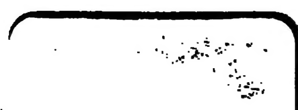
BY

GEORGE BURNHAM BEAMAN.



LEIPZIG
OTTO HARRASSOWITZ
1895.

PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
LEIPZIG FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
SEPTEMBER 6, 1895.



CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

COMPARISON IN DETAIL.

Manu Chapter II.

CONCLUSION.

INTRODUCTION.

A. The Mānava Dharma-śāstra.

It was through the translation of the Mānava Dharma-śāstra by Sir William Jones, which appeared in 1794, that the attention of European scholars was first drawn to the now much disputed question as to the origin of this the greatest of all Hindu Law Books. The question arose, as is well known, in the statements contained in the first chapter and elsewhere, according to which the author of these Institutes was Manu Prajāpati son of the Svayambhū, from whom he obtained them, and then taught them to Bhṛgu, to be promulgated by the latter to mankind.

It need scarcely be remarked that however this account may have been accredited in India, and in spite of the explanations offered by the commentators it was immediately recognized in Europe as purely mythical—a fabrication of the real author, evidently meant to enhance the value of the work by settling beyond dispute the infallibility of its laws. Since a complete detailed presentation of the account as viewed in India, and the attempts by the commentators at a rational explanation has been given by Professor Bühler[1], it seems best to pass over this part of the discussion here in silence. Setting aside then as interpolations, all in this work that is fabulous or otherwise artificial, it has been the endeavor up to the present time, to discover what were the real sources of those portions that are known to be genuine, and without discussing the arguments pro and con, I will now outline as briefly as the demands of this paper will permit, and in chronological order, some of the most

[1] SBE. vol. XXV Introduction, pp. xi—xviii.

important views and hypotheses that have been advanced in solution of this problem.

To PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER is due the credit of making the first conjecture which, because of its trustworthiness, has formed the basis of all succeeding arguments. In a letter to Mr. Morley [1] dated in 1849, he made known his discovery that in general, the Sūtras are the chief source of the metrical Law Codes, and that thus there must have been a Dharma-sūtra belonging to the family of the Mānavas which adhered to the Black Yajur-veda, of which the Mānava Dharma-śastra is the last redaction [2]. Later, similar views were likewise arrived at independently by PROFESSORS WEBER and STENZLER. [3]

The next step in advance is taken by DR. JOHAENTGEN, who explains that the name Mānava has not been derived from "Manu" the hero, but it has come directly from the school to which the original Sūtra belonged, which bore the name of Mānava. [4]

He points out that Professor Müller's expression "Sūtra-Works or Kula-dharmas" is too restricted because the Mānava Dharma-śāstra comprehends not only the law proper as contained in the Sāmayācarika sūtras, but the contents of the Gṛhya-sūtras as well [5]. He then proceeds to prove (pp. 109 seqq.) that the Sūtra which is the basis of our Manu-smṛti, belonged to the school of the Mānavas. This Mānava-caraṇa was, as indicated by Professor Schroeder [6], identical with the Caraṇa of that name which belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīśākhā [7].

PROFESSOR E. W. HOPKINS [8] has explained the composition of the Manu-smṛti as being a collection of moral precepts, floating aphorisms, etc. popularly current as "Manu's Laws" and attributed to Manu Prajāpati, together with the "laws of the Mānava sect" or school.

---

[1] Reprinted in SBE. vol. II. pp. ix—xi.

[2] cf. also M. M. Hist. Sans. Lit. pp. 61, 132—134, 200. On the merits of his hypothesis, see Bühler, loc. cit. pp. xix seqq., and West and Bühler, Digest. Introd. pp. 43—47.

[3] Indische Studien, I. Band, pp. 69, 143, 243—4.

[4] Ueber das Gesetzbuch des Manu, (1863), p. 100.

[5] loc. cit. p. 108, and M. Müller, loc. cit. p. 133.

[6] Gesammt-Sitzung (Berlin) vom 24. Juli 1879, p. 701.

[7] cf. E.W. Hopkins, The Mutual Rel. of the Four Castes, p. IV.

[8] Journ. Am. Or. Soc. vol. XI, p. 267, or Proceed. Am. Or. Soc. in Oct. 1883, p. xix.

In the Introduction to his translation of the Mānava Dharma-śāstra (1884), DR. BURNELL has accepted the former theories, or those preceding Professor Hopkins', but has added nothing new.

In his Tagore Lectures[1] delivered in 1883, PROFESSOR J. JOLLY wavers from the generally accepted theory that the Mānava Dharma-sūtra was the basis of the Manu-smṛti, maintaining that the principal Maitrāyaṇīya Mānava works which have been recovered, do not show any resemblance, in point of style or contents with the Code of Manu[2]. He says further, "The examination of the works produced in the Mānava Maitrāyaṇīya School has, however, disclosed another important fact, viz., their close connection with the compositions of the Kaṭhas, another ancient school studying the Black Yajur-veda. As the Viṣṇu-smṛti appears to be a recast of the ancient Dharma-sūtra of the Kaṭha School, and as the Code of Manu has a great deal in common with the Viṣṇu-smṛti, the existence of a connection, whether direct or mediate, of the Code of Manu with the Vedic Schools studying the Black Yajur-veda is far from improbable."[3] In speaking of the close connection between the Manu-smṛti and the Dharma-sūtras generally, he cites the Viṣṇu-sūtra as an example of those which seem to have furnished in many instances, the very Sūtras which have been versified by the compiler of the Manu Code. And finally, "Practically speaking, as much of Manu's Laws as may be traced to the existing writings of the Sūtra period, and a great deal more which appears to have been derived from Sūtras now lost, is very old". The remainder, he holds has been added by the author of the Smṛti and by subsequent interpolators.[4]

This position was likewise held by PROFESSOR L. VON SCHROEDER,[5] who reiterates, more definitely indeed, that it cannot be doubted that the Dharma-sūtras have been the chief sources of the Manu-smṛti. He remarks in general (p. 739), that as sources of the

[1] Hindu Law, 1885, pp. 47—48.

[2] Jolly, On the Kāṭhaka and Viṣṇu Sūtras, in Sitz. ber. d. philos.-philol. Classe d. k. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München 1879, and P. von Bradke, Ueber d. Mān. Gṛh. Sūtra. ZDMG. 1882.

[3] See SBE. Introd. to vol. VII.

[4] loc. cit. p. xxv.

[5] Indiens Cult. und Lit. p. 742. Although this work, published in the form of a series of lectures, appeared in 1887, as an authority on the subject under discussion, it evidently belongs to a date prior to that year.

metrical law-books are to be regarded, above all the Dharma-sūtras, but not these alone; we find here also the most important rules of the Gṛhya-sūtras, much from the law of custom, certain opinions of the prominent lawyers and philosophers and the like, incorporated in a single whole with that which the Dharma-sūtras furnish.

Finally, PROFESSOR GEORG BÜHLER, in support of Professor Max Müller's hypothesis, has proved conclusively, and largely from internal evidence, that the Mānava Dharma-śāstra is based on a Mānava Dharma-sūtra, which probably was the exclusive property of the Maitrāyaṇīya-Mānava school, which adheres to a redaction of the Black Yajur-veda[1]. In answer to the problem as to how the conversion of the Mānava-Dharma-sūtra into the Manu-smṛti was effected[2], he considers at length three questions, α. which portions of our Manu-smṛti are ancient and which are later additions? β. whence have the additions been derived? γ. have they been added at one time or successively?

In brief, his answers are as follows: α. "In our attempting to distinguish between the old and the modern elements in our Manu-saṃhita, we must be guided, except where we have quotations from the old Dharma-sūtra, by the analogies which the other existing Dharma-sūtras furnish. For it may be assumed as a general maxim, that the rules and other statements of our Manu, which find counterparts in the critically unsuspicious portions of the Sūtras of Gautama, Bandhāyana, Âpastamba, and Vasishṭha, probably occurred also in the Mānava Dharma-sūtra." Single exceptions, he says are of course possible, on account of the differences in the details, existing in the Dharma-sūtras, and for this reason, the other Dharma-sūtras may occasionally contain a rule which did not occur in the Mānava-sūtra, but was added on its revision. On the other hand, those rules and discussions which cannot be traced in one of the old Sūtras, must be considered with care, the safest criterion being always the character of ideas which they express. "If these are entirely foreign to the Sūtras or to Vedic literature, they may be confidently rejected as interpolations. A good deal depends also on their position and on the manner in which they fit into the context."

---

[1] SBE. vol. XXV, Introd. pp. xviii—xlv.
[2] loc. cit. pp. lxv seqq.

β.[1] The additional materials have been derived from the then existing stock of floating sayings attributed to Manu. Thus far then, Professor Bühler agrees with Professor Hopkins' hypothesis (see page 2), excepting that the latter would attribute these sayings to "Manu the father of mankind". But this restriction Professor Bühler shows to be unadvisable, "because among the mass of corresponding pieces found in the Mahābhārata, comparatively few are attributed to the Prajāpati", and because a Hindu would not hesitate to ascribe to that sage all the maxims which seemed to him to be authentic, even if others attributed them to other authorities.

The third question (γ)[2], whether the conversion of the Mānava Dharma-sūtra was effected at one time or by degrees, and whether Bhṛgu's recension has to be considered as the immediate offspring or as remoter descendant of the Sūtra", Professor Bühler answers, after careful consideration of all former views and arguments, in the sense of the first alternative. In this respect he differs from the view generally accepted by Professor Jolly[3], and others who have expressed opinion on this point, according to which the text of our Manu-smṛti has from time to time undergone different recensions and suffered changes under various hands.

B. The Yājñavalkya Dharma-śāstra.

Although the Smṛti of Yājñavalkya, like its more celebrated predecessor, the Mānava-Dharma-śāstra, claims for itself a divine origin, and although it has contributed much toward the modern development of Indian Law, having even been chosen in preference to the Manu-smṛti, by Vijñaneśvara and Aparārka[4] as a basis for their systematic works on Indian Law, the question of its human origin seems to have attracted far less attention in Europe than that of the greater work. A sufficient cause for this is, if nothing else, its smaller degree of importance, but it has nevertheless not as yet received the amount of attention which it deserves.

---

[1] loc. cit. p. xci.
[2] loc. cit. pp. xcii—cvi.
[3] loc. cit. and Hindu Law, p. 48.
[4] See Jolly, Hindu Law, p. 48.

The first European translation of this Smṛti is the wellknown one, edited with the Sanskrit text, by PROFESSOR A. F. STENZLER, which appeared in 1849. Regarding the origin of the Smṛti he thus expresses himself in his Vorrede, S. VIII—IX, „Die vielfache übereinstimmung beider gesetzbücher in sachen wie in ausdrücken führt allerdings zu der annahme, dass Manu's gesetzbuch dem gesetzbuche des Yājñavalkya als grundlage gedient habe." He further calls attention to the references in the first chapter to the Buddhists, and finally shows that Yājñavalkya's law book is younger than the Manu-Smṛti, that it marks indeed, the next step after Manu in the development of the metrical Smṛtis.[1]

As in the case of Manu, PROFESSOR M. MÜLLER was the first to discover that the Sūtras are the principal source of the metrical Smṛtis[2], or, as he says later (p. 200)[3], "it is chiefly in the Dharma-sūtras that we have to look for the originals of the later metrical lawbooks, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya and the rest".

In 1863 DR. JOHAENTGEN[4] called attention to the connection between the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti and the White Yajurveda as a generally recognized and undeniable fact, and then shows that, just as Manu Prajāpati was not the author of the Manu-smṛti, it is likewise a mistake to attribute this work to the alleged author of the Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajur-veda. "Im Gegentheil müssen wir auch hier, wie früher bei dem Mānava-Gesetzbuch, annehmen, dass das Werk nichts ist als eine versifizirte Zusammenstellung der — wahrscheinlich nicht mehr erhaltenen — Gṛhya- und Sāmayācārika-Sūtra einer auf Yājñavalkya zurückgehenden Schule des weissen Yajur-veda." The philosophical system represented in this Smṛti is the Yoga of Patañjali.

DR. VON BRADKE[5] discusses the probability of the dependence of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti on a Dharma-sūtra of the White Yajur-veda, in a comparison with the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, but was unable to come to a definite conclusion, as he says, "Nehmen wir aber Alles in Allem, so glaube ich, dass sich das Verhältniss der in Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch vorkommenden Mantra zur Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā zwar nicht als Argument gegen, aber eben

---

[1] See Jolly's Nārada, Introd. SBE. vol. XXXIII, p. xvii.
[2] Letter to Mr. Morley, SBE. vol. II.
[3] Hist. San. Lit. pp. 132—134, 200, also p. 330, n. 2.
[4] Ueber das Gesetzbuch des Manu, p. 113.
[5] Ueber d. Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra, ZDMG. 1882, S. 424—426.

so wenig als Argument für die Annahme verwerthen lässt, dass das Yājñavalkya Dharma-śāstra die Bearbeitung eines vorausgesetzten Dharma-sūtra des weissen Yajus sei." After a comparison of Yā. I, 270—291 with Mān. Gṛ. 2, 14, both of which passages treat of the ceremony Vināyaka Gaṇeśa [1], he concludes (S. 433), "Fassen wir das Resultat der soeben angestellten Untersuchung zusammen, so werden wir zunächst gern zugestehen, dass die Theorie von der Entstehung der metrischen Gesetzbücher aus den gleichnamigen Sūtra eine ausserordentlich fruchtbare Hypothese genannt werden kann."

In 1884 [2], Professor Bühler was decidedly of the opinion that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti belonged to the school of the Vājasaneyins who study the White Yajur-veda. At the same time he shows its dependence on the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, and offers the conjecture that the Sūtra on which the Smṛti is based belonged to one of the Vājasaneyi Caraṇas, or that it may even have been composed by the founder of this Caraṇa himself.

Professor Jolly likewise acknowledges the close connection of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti with the White Yajur-veda, and through its laconism and pregnancy of style, with the Sūtra period [3]. He states further, in agreement with Dr. von Bradke [4] that "a very considerable portion of the subject matter contained in this work is traceable to the Sūtra works of the Black Yajur-veda, especially to the Vishṇu-smṛti and to the Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra, but it is impossible to ascertain whether they have been derived from this source mediately or immediately."

Since presenting my Dissertation to the Faculty, I have received, through the kindness of Professors Windisch and Jolly, the proofsheets of the latter's contribution to Bühler's Grundriss, now in the press, entitled "Recht und Sitte", and it is with great pleasure that I note in some respects a close agreement of my hypothesis with his latest views on the sources of these two Dharma-śāstras.

Under § 5 p. 18, Professor Jolly says: "Es besteht daher kein Bedenken gegen die Annahme, dass *M.* Werke aus ver-

[1] Cf. Stenzler, Vorrede, S. IX; Jolly, SBE. vol. VII, p. xxi, and Hindu Law, p. 49.
[2] West and Bühler: Digest. Third Edition, p. 47.
[3] Cf. West and Bühler: Digest., p. 44.
[4] loc. cit. cf. also SBE. vol. VII, p. xxi.

schiedenen Schulen benützt hat, als er daran ging, ein für alle Stände verbindliches Lehrgedicht des *dharma* zu schreiben und dasselbe mit dem Namen des *Manu* zu schmücken, der als der von *Brahman*, der Weltseele, abstammende oder mit ihr identificirte Urvater der Menschheit, als der Begründer der sittlichen Weltordnung, als der Erfinder der Opfergebräuche und als religiöser Gesetzgeber schon lange gefeiert war, ehe die Sūtraschule der Mānavas entstand, die wohl auch nach ihm benannt ist."

And concerning Yā., § 6 p. 21: "Es wird hienach wahrscheinlich, dass die Smṛti des *Y.* auf ein *dharmasūtra* aus der Schule des weissen Yajurveda zurückgeht, aber mit gleichzeitiger Benützung andrer Sūtrawerke und unseres *M.* Als ein Überrest aus den zu Grunde liegenden Sūtras ist vielleicht auch der lakonische Stil des *Y.* anzusehen."

C. Concerning both Dharma-śāstras.

As the basis of my investigations I have used almost exclusively Professor Bühler's Introduction and Professor Stenzler's edition of Yājñavalkya, particularly the former, as being the latest authority and containing the most exhaustive treatment of the subject of Manu. But before making a statement of the conclusions I have drawn concerning the Manu-smṛti, I owe it to Professors J. Jolly and L. von Schroeder, to say that my investigations had come to an end before I was aware of their views, (see pages 3—4) with which my own discoveries have many points in common, for to these eminent scholars must always belong the credit of these discoveries, though also made by me quite independently; still the following paper may serve to verify them, which, to my knowledge has not yet been done in detail.

After a careful examination of the texts of the Dharma-śāstras of Manu and Yājñavalkya, and a comparison of them with each other and with the various works, two theories have presented themselves to me with regard to their origin.

First, the *Mānava Dharma-śāstra,* in addition to its being based on a Mānava Dharma-sūtra, is also a compilation from all the Sūtras, in the widest sense of the term, then existing into a universally binding code of laws. In favor of this hypothesis, it

may be observed in general that the contents of Manu's Śāstra, or of the genuine portions even, are far too comprehensive, both in fulness and variety of treatment, to have been derived from any one Dharma-sūtra if we may take as a standard the size and general contents of the Dharma-sūtras which have come down to us[1]. That this Smṛti was composed for universal usage has never been questioned[2]. Even if other evidence were wanting, it seems to me the fact that these laws were ascribed to Manu Prajāpati, Lord of Creation, and that they have been collated from the works of the various Śākhās, is sufficient to establish the truth of this assertion. The latter argument likewise gives evidence of the same truth with regard to the Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

Second, contrary to the universally accepted, or at least, so far as I have been able to discover, unrefuted theory that *Yājñavalkya's Dharma-śāstra* is based on that of Manu, it likewise is a later compilation of the Sūtras, in the widest sense of the term, existing at the time of its composition, and of the Mānava Dharma-śāstra, and in all probability having as its starting point a Yājñavalkīya Dharma-sūtra, as already indicated by Dr. von Bradke and others. It would clearly be to Yājñavalkya's advantage in composing his work, to draw his materials as far as possible from the original Sūtra works, and not from Manu's Smṛti, the true character of which he must have recognized.

The first Chapter of Manu is well known to be spurious[3] being almost wholly a philosophical Introduction to the Śāstra proper which begins with Chapter II, based on the Sānkhya Philosophy of Kapila[4], while all those passages, not of this Chapter alone, but as well those occurring throughout the Smṛti which find parallels in the Mahābhārata have found their sources, as explained by Professor Bühler[5], not in the Mahābhārata, but, together with the passages of this work, in the previously existing proverbial wisdom current in popular form, and proceeding from the various philosophical and legal schools.

I have confined the limits of the main part of my comparison

---

[1] cf. Johaentgen, loc. cit. p. 108.
[2] cf. Jolly, Hindu Law, p. 41.
[3] cf. Bühler, Introduction, p. lxvi.
[4] cf. Colebrooke: Essays, I, p. 249, and Johaentgen, loc. cit.
[5] Introduction, pp. lxxiv, seqq.

to the second Chapter of Manu, vv. 1—124, as showing in a fair degree the conglomerate character of the composition, and illustrating the variety of sources used by the authors of the Smṛtis. It has also seemed sufficient for my purpose, to treat only those verses of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti which show an affinity to those verses in Manu which fall under the comparison.[1]

The Second Chapter of Manu contains in all, 249 ślokas and discusses four topics, as follows: *Dharmamūlāni*, 1—25, *Varṇadharmāḥ*, 26—35, *Upanāyana*, 36—68, and *Brahmacarya*, 69—249. In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti the same topics are treated in the same order, in the first 51 ślokas of the First Chapter, of which 38 correspond to ślokas in Manu which number 65, or, in other words, of the 249 ślokas in Manu, 65 find counter-parts in 38 ślokas of Yājñavalkya. Thus, at first glance it might seem that the latter author must have drawn largely from Manu, but in fact, as will be shown hereafter, this was not the case. These figures do indicate however, the great difference between the styles of the two authors—Yājñavalkyas conciseness of expression as against the looseness and greater freedom of expression in the Manu-smṛti, also that in the latter work the subject matter itself is far more thoroughly treated, and with greater regard for details.

The close connection which amounts often to verbal agreement, between both these Dharma-śāstras and the Viṣṇu-smṛti has already been illustrated by Professor Jolly in his Introduction to Viṣṇu[2], and later as regards Manu in his History of Hindu Law, p. 48.

The list of Sanskrit texts and references used in the following comparison has largely been taken from Professor Bühler's Synopsis of Parallel Passages, appended to his Translation, but as the texts of the Gṛhya-sūtras of Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin have since been edited by Dr. M. Winternitz and Dr. J. Kirste, respectively, I have supplemented these to the list, and have further made some minor changes in the references as occasion demanded.

---

[1] cf. Synopsis of Parallel Passages, SBE. XXV, pp. 533 seqq. and marginal references to Manu in Stenzler's Ed. of Yā.

[2] SBE. vol. VII, pp. xx seqq. cf. also P. von Bradke, loc. cit. pp. 439 seqq. and M. M., History, p. 331.

COMPARISON IN DETAIL.

Manu Chapter II.

I. Dharmamūlāni.

1—5. These introductory verses, together with vv. 7—11 and 13 are all purely philosophical in character, and as such may be classed with the many philosophical verses to be found scattered singly and in sections throughout all the twelve chapters of the Smṛti, which Dr. Johaentgen in his book "Ueber das Gesetzbuch des Manu", has shown to be based on the Sānkhya Philosophy of Kapila. Professor Bühler likewise, in his Introduction (lxvii), cites these verses as interpolations[1].

6. Ref. Ba. I, 1, 1—6; Ga. I, 1—3; Āp. I, 1, 1—3; Va. I, 4—6; Yā. I, 7.

a. The agreement here with Ga. is so close that there can be little doubt that his sūtra is the source of this line, which differs from it only in the use of *vedo 'khilo,* to fill out the meter.

b. Manu's term *ātmanas tuṣṭir-,* and *priyam ātmanaḥ,* of equivalent signification used by Yā. have no authority whatever in the Dharma-sūtras, all of which hold that the Vedas, in the broadest sense of the term, are eventually the only source of law. Thus, these two terms must be of later origin in this connection, and have apparently been used by these Smṛti writers as a subterfuge, and as a source for certain laws which were not authorized by the ancient treatises on sacred law. Dr. Johaentgen, in his work on Manu, p. 46, quotes this verse as showing the value placed by Hindu lawgivers on 'Selfsatisfaction' as "Begleiterin und Folge einer guten Handlung"; but by 'lawgivers' must be unterstood the later writers or compilers of the law, because as above shown, none of the extant Dharma-sūtras and therefore, very likely, none of those which are now lost, recognize such a source of sacred law.

Textually, the rest of this line is not found elsewhere in the Sūtras, but, for the meaning, authority is found in Ba. thus showing that it has come from a genuine source. The terms

---

[1] The term "interpolate" is used here as elsewhere, to designate all that material which is to be found only in the Manu, resp. Yā. Smṛti.

śīla and *ācāra* are synonymous[1], and one of them is therefore unnecessary, being interpolated possibly to fill out the meter. But as a whole, this śloka has evidently been based on good authority, the first line as shown above, on Ga., and the second on Ba.

There is little or no evidence that Yā. has drawn from this verse, but for further treatment, see under v. 12.

12. Yā. I, 7a.

a. This line agrees literally with that of Yā., differing only in the use of one word, viz., *vedaḥ* for *śrutiḥ*, as Yā. reads. For this close similarity, two reasons may be adduced. Either Yā. has copied from Manu, or else both authors have drawn from the same source, which may have been the Mā. Dh.-sūtra or a Yā. Dh.-sūtra. The latter alternative seems the more tenable, for if not why should Yā. have changed *vedaḥ* to *śrutiḥ?* No reason is apparent. On the other hand, it was evidently the purpose of the author of Manu's śloka to conceal as far as possible all authority for his rules so far as the Mānava School was concerned, other than the original Manu, "Father of Mankind". Hence it seems not unlikely that this line has been taken bodily from a Yā. Dh.-sūtra or some other non-extant Dharma-sūtra. It is of course possible, that for a like reason, but with less excuse, Yā. may have drawn from the Mā. Dh.-sūtra, or even from the Manu-smṛti. As shown under v. 6 the term *priyam ātmanaḥ* must be regarded as spurious.

b. This line is merely explanatory of the meaning of the first, which would not have occurred in a Sūtra, and hence it may be regarded as an interpolation.

13. Philosophical, see under vv. 1—5.

14. Ga. I, 4; Āp. I, 30, 9.

There is no agreement here between the Dh.-sūtras, either in wording or meaning. Manu agrees with Ga. essentially, though there is no textual evidence of his having drawn from this source. The looseness of the style marks it as a late versification of a sūtra taken from some Dharma-sūtra not now extant.

15. The material of this verse has apparently been drawn from an ancient source, possibly from an unknown Dh.-sūtra, if

---

[1] On the opinion of the commentators concerning these terms, see Bühler, SBE. XXV, p. 30, v. 6, footnote.

not from the Veda itself as the author claims. Cf. Kullūka's Commentary.

16. The nature of this verse shows it to be an interpolation.[1]

17—21. Three of these verses, 17, 19 and 21, are geographical descriptions, and are probably interpolations, as there is no parallel description in the Sūtras, and as Dr. Johaentgen[2] has pointed out, the names *Brahmāvarta* (v. 17), and *Brahmarṣi* (v. 19) are undoubtedly of later origin. Likewise, v. 18 is spurious, as it contains only some more or less general comments on the peoples of the country described in v. 17. Verse 20 also furnishes strong evidence in the use of the phrase *pṛthivyāṃ sarvamānavāḥ*, that it has been composed by the author of this Dharma-śāstra, inasmuch as this phrase expresses plainly the universal design of this work, that it is to be binding on "all men on earth".[3]

22. Ba. I, 2, 9—10; Vas. I, 8—9.

On the situation of the country of the Āryas, these two authorities agree in the main. They use similar terms, but the wording is very different, giving evidence that both have drawn from the same source independently of each other. Manu's description does not agree with either of these, but Vas. in sūtra 9, quotes from some unknown authority a description which does agree in part with Manu's, hence it may be safely said that this unknown work was the source of Manu's śloka.

23. Ba. I, 2, 12; Vas. I, 13—15; Yā. I, 2b.

Here, as in the preceding verse, the Sūtras agree almost literally. Both use the Anuṣṭubh śloka, the first lines of which agree throughout, but the second lines contain some slight differences. Manu's account differs considerably from that given by these writers, and as there is furthermore, no textual evidence whatever that he could have drawn on them, his source must have been a Sūtra work not now extant.

In Yā.'s line there is but one term which agrees with Manu's text, and not with that of Vas. and Ba., namely, *deśe*. The last

---

[1] cf. Bühler: Introduction, p. lv, and lxvii.

[2] loc. cit. p. 109.

[3] Dr. Johaentgen (loc. cit. Anm. 169) is of the opinion that *sarvamānavāḥ* is to be translated in the pregnant sense by "all Mānavas", but for the reason already given, it seems doubtless that the rendering of this phrase as given by Dr. Burnell and Professor Bühler is the correct one. cf. also SBE. Introd. pp. xliv—xlv.

phrase in the line, *dharmān nibodhata*, evidently is an interpolation of the author of the Smṛti although the Imperative *nibodhata* is similarly employed by Manu in v. 25. Of what remains, there is too little to form conclusive evidence that it was taken from the Mān. Dh.-śastra; the possibility, if not the probability that it came from some Dh.-sūtra, now unknown, would still remain.

24. Ba. I, 2, 13—15; Āp. I, 32, 18; Vi. LXXXIV 2, 4.

The general import of all of these passages, including M. 24a, is essentially the same, but there is no evidence textually that Manu could have made use of any of them, hence the source of his first as well as second line may have been some other Sūtra. Still it is possible that Manu's first line is but a free rendering of the above passages; but the second line still remains unaccounted for.

25. This verse, being introductory to the next topic is an interpolation.

II. Varṇadharmāḥ.

26. Ga. VIII, 14—20; Yā. I, 10b.

Manu has evidently not borrowed from Ga., who gives simply a list of forty sacraments to be observed, but nothing is said of the performance with Mantras. The style of Yā. is very concise and aphoristic and may well have been taken from a Sūtra not now extant, while Manu's verse is loosely constructed. Both have one term in common, namely, *niṣekādi*, but otherwise are wholly unlike, still it is possible that both have drawn from the same work, which is now unknown.

27—35.

The section included by these verses treats of the various sacraments in more or less irregular order, so that it seems best to treat it according to the sacraments as they occur, and not as usually, according to the verses.

This topic is sparingly handled in the Dharma-sūtras: Vi. alone describes briefly the eight sacraments, while Ga. (VIII, 14), only names them. The Gṛhya-sūtras, on the other hand all give more or less detailed accounts, yet differing among themselves as to the number and selection.

The seven treated by Manu are: 1. *Gārbhahoma*, mentioned only, 2. *Jātakarman*, 3. [*Cauḍa*] *Cūḍākarman*, 4. *Mauñjīnibandhana*, mentioned only, 5. *Nāmadheya*, 6. *Niṣkramaṇa*, 7. *Annaprāśana*.

1. *Gārbhahoma.* M. v. 27; Vi. XXVII, 1—3; Hir. Gṛ., II, 1—2; Āp. Gṛ. 14, 9; Yā. I, 11.

This term occurs only in this place, and is itself not the name of one Sacrament, but a general expression meant to include all the ceremonies as far as the *Jātakarman,* which are, according to Vi., *Niṣekakarman, Puṃsavana* and *Sīmantonnayana.* But whatever may have been the source of these terms, they are here used for a purpose foreign to the character of the discussion in the preceding, and, after v. 28, succeeding verses. This verse is in nature similar to v. 27. Thus both may be regarded as interpolations.

Contrary to Manu, Yā. not only names these three sacraments, but describes them briefly also. There are however some variations in his text from the expressions used by Vi., thus, he reads, *garbhādhānam, puṃsaḥ savanaṃ,* and *sīmanto,* while in each case the sense in both texts remains identically the same. Further, it is easy to trace the source of these three descriptions of Yā. to Vi.'s text. The influence of Vi.'s term *niṣekakarma* may be seen in Yā.'s *niṣekādi-* of v. 10, while his term *garbhādhānaṃ* may well have been selected for metrical reasons from Ga., as it does not occur elsewhere. The term *ṛtau* in 11 contains the gist of the longer sūtra in Vi.[1]. Yā. has evidently divided the term *puṃsavana* as it is written everywhere else, for a purely metrical purpose; otherwise this term as well as the rest of the line is exactly the same as Vi.'s second sūtra. Likewise, the latter's third sūtra is almost identical with the third pāda of Yā.'s verse, the chief difference being, as pointed out above, in Yā.'s using the shorter form *sīmanto* to suit his meter. Both the Gṛ.-sū.'s disagree with Yā. as to the time of performance. Thus it seems quite evident that Vi. was the source of these three descriptions of Yā.'s.

2. *Jātakarman.* M. v. 29; Mah III, 180, 35[a]; Vi. XXVII, 4; Āś. I, 15, 1—3; Śā. Gṛ. I, 24, 1—3; Pā. Gṛ. I, 16, 3—4; Go. Gṛ. II, 7, 21; Khā. Gṛ. II, 2, 32; H. Gṛ. II, 3, 2; Āp. Gṛ. 15, 1; Yā. I, 11.

This ceremony is briefly described by Vi. but more fully in the Gṛ.-sūtras, which at the same time differ among themselves considerably. The gist of Manu's first line, excepting *jātakarma,*

[1] cf. Jolly: SBE. vol. VII, p. 113, n. 1.

which of course is understood is found in Khā. Gṛ., the terms used being almost identical, thus, *prāṅ nābhivardhanāt* occurs in Khā. Gṛ. as *prāṅ nābhikṛntanāt.* This entire line is found with a slight variation, in the passage quoted from the Mah., but, as Professor Bühler has shown in his Introduction[1], Manu has not drawn from the Mah., but the authors of both works have drawn from the same source, which in this instance seems to have been the Khā. Gṛ.-sūtra. Manu's second line has probably been versified from Āś.'s sūtra; the noun *prāśanaṃ* occurs in the Sūtra as a verb *prāśayet*, the triple compound composing the fourth pāda, occurs in Āś., but in the accusative construction, and *mantravat* may be explained by the mantras themselves which are given in full by Āś.

There is no parallel reading to Yā.'s phrase, *ete jātakarma ca*, hence it is impossible to define his source, further than that it must have been some unknown Gṛhya-sūtra.

3. *Nāmadheya.* M. 30—33; Vi. XXVII, 5—9; Āś. Gṛ. I, 15, 4; Śā. Gṛ. I, 24, 4—6; Pā. Gṛ. I, 17, 1—4; Go. Gṛ. II, 8, 8; H. Gṛ. II, 4, 10 seq.; Āp. Gṛ. 15, 2, 8, seq.; Yā. I, 12.

This term as such occurs only in Vi. and Go., but it is variously treated by all the above authorities. There is no authority for the statements given by Manu, v. 30, as to the time for this ceremony, excepting for the tenth day which is given in three Gṛ.-sū.'s, viz., Śā., Pā. and Go. The latter mentions also besides the tenth day from birth, the 100th, and at the end of a year. Thus it seems possible that for a small part of this verse, Manu has used the Gṛ.-sūtras, but the rest has come from some other source, or sources.

Yā. differs from all authorities on this point, as he reads, *ahany ekādaśe nāma.* Inasmuch as there was so much difference of opinion as to the number of days, and Vi. expresses in more general terms the apparent meaning of all the passages, it is possible though perhaps not probable, that Yā. follows Vi. here, in sense, by using *ekādaśe*, thus splitting the difference between the authorities for *daśamyāṃ*, and *dvādaśyāṃ*. It is at any rate quite evident that Yā. has not drawn from Manu's śloka.

The description of names found in vv. 31—33, has parallels in all of the above authorities excepting Yā. A comparison of

[1] SBE. XXV, pp. lxxiv seqq.

the texts of Manu and Vi. shows plainly that v. 31 is but a versification of Vi.'s four sūtras 6—9. But vv. 32—33 have evidently been taken from an unknown Sūtra as there is little or no agreement here with the Gṛ.-sūtrās or Vi.

4. *Niṣkramaṇa*. M. 34; Vi. XXVII, 10; Pā. Gṛ. I, 17, 5; Yā. I, 12.

The *Niṣkramaṇa* is found only in two other authorities, under this title, viz. Yā. and Pā. It is otherwise given by Vi. as *Ādityadarśana*. No two authors give exactly the same form, thus, in M. it is *niṣkramaṇa*, in Yā. *niṣkramaḥ* and in Pā. *niṣkramaṇikā*. All agree that it must be performed in the fourth month. Thus, Manu has probably drawn from either of these authorities, as the evidence in both cases is equal.

5. *Annaprāśana*. M. 34; Vi. XXVII, 11; Āś. Gṛ. I, 16, 1; Śā. Gṛ. I, 27, 1; Pā. Gṛ. I, 19, 1; Hir. Gṛ. II, 5, 1; Āp. Gṛ. 16, 1; Yā. I, 12.

All of the above authorities agree as to the time of performance of this ceremony, and with the exception of Vi. and Pā. all agree verbally. Vi. omits *māsi*, and Pā. reads *māse*. Since the agreement is so close, it is impossible to tell which sūtrā is the source of Manu's pāda, while it is quite evident that one of them is. The rest of Manu's line appears undoubtedly to have been interpolated, as it has no parallel in any of the Sūtras; still it is possible that it is based on good authority.

Yā.'s reading is precisely the same as Manu's, but as the similarity likewise extends practically to four Gṛ.-sū.'s, it is impossible to tell, as in the case of Manu, just which one Yā. has used, if he has not drawn on Manu.

6. *Cūḍākarman*. M. 35; Vi. XXVII, 12; Āś. Gṛ. I, 17, 1; Śā. Gṛ. I, 28, 1—2; Pā. Gṛ. II, 1, 1—2; Go. Gṛ. II, 9, 1; Hir. Gṛ. II, 6, 1; Āp. Gṛ. 16, 3; Yā. I, 12.

This ceremony is first mentioned by Manu in v. 27 (q. v.) under the name of *cauḍa*, which does not occur in the other authorities. The general, awkward character of this verse as well as the next, and other reasons cited under 1, (p. 15), show these verses to be interpolations. The *Cūḍākarman* is properly treated in v. 35. In the above texts there is quite a variety of readings, and some difference of opinion as to the time for the performance of the ceremony—even the name itself occurs in five different forms. Śā. and Hir. are the only authorities besides Manu,

for the form *cūḍākarma,* and it is probable that one of these texts is the source of Manu's term, in as much as none of the other forms would as well suit the meter. In sense, Manu's śloka agrees with Pā., who reads *sāṃvatsārikasya,* but there is nothing in the text to show that Manu is indebted to him for any thing more than the fact contained in the expression *prathame 'bde,* but this he may just as well have gotten from Śā.'s text which reads *saṃvatsare.* Manu's text agrees most closely with Vi.'s, and it is not unlikely that he has borrowed from him the two words, *abde* and *tṛtīye,* or we may say that Vi.'s sūtra was probably the basis of this śloka, the addition of *prathama* and the change of name to *cūḍākarma* seing due to Śā. or Hir., as above.

Yā. alone reads *cūḍā* and expresses his rule by the more general statement, *yathākulam,* thus he has probably written independently of Manu. Still, since Manu has laid down the general law in the preceding verse (34), *yadveṣṭaṃ maṅgalaṃ kule,* it is possible that it served as the source of Yā.'s phrase. One other authority Āś. has a similar reading, *yathākuladharmaṃ,* and Yā. may have borrowed from him, but this is doubtful, because the latter reads *caulaṃ,* which would suit Yā.'s meter just as well as cūḍā. Still, as these terms are essentially equal, and were both in vogue, (cf. also Āp. Gṛ. loc. cit.) the choice of one over the other may have been simply a matter of taste.

The seventh ceremony, or fourth as numbered on page 14, the Mauñjīnibandhana, is not treated by the other authorities, and is only mentioned by Manu in v. 27, which has been shown to be an interpolation.

III. Upanāyana.

36. Āp. I, 1, 18; Ga. I, 5, 11; Va. XI, 49—51; Ba. I, 3, 7—9; Vi. XXVII, 15—17; Śā. Gr. II, 1, 1—4; Āś. Gṛ. I, 19, 1—4; Pā. Gṛ. II, 2, 1—3; Kh. Gṛ. II, 4, 1—5; Go. Gṛ. X, 1—3, Hir. Gṛ. I, 1, 1 seqq. Āp. Gṛ. 10; Yā. I, 14.

All of these authorities agree on the time of performance for the ceremony of Initiation, but all retain in general, their individuality of expression. Barring some slight changes which were necessary for versification, Manu agrees word for word with Vi., hence there can be little doubt that Vi.'s sūtras are the source of this śloka.

Yā.'s reading is very much like that of M. and Vi., and it is not

improbable that he too has borrowed from the latter, but there is also evidence that he has used some other text or texts, in the option which he allows in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, which he expresses by *garbhāṣṭame 'ṣṭame vābde,* and in his expression *eke yathākulam.* The former he has very likely taken from Āś. who is the only other authority allowing this option. But there is no other authority for Yā.'s second phrase, referred to, unless it be M. 34, as in v. 12, (cf. under 6 of preceding topic).

37. Āp. I. 21; Ga. I, 6.

Both of these authorities differ with each other both in text and manner of treatment. Manu has one term in common with Āp., viz., *brahmavarcasakāma*, but Manu has probably not used Āp. here because the latter reads *saptame,* while Manu has *pañcame.* Ga. gives authority for *pañcame,* together with *navame,* but the fact that *navame* is given first seems to point to the existence at that time of another Sūtra authority for *pañcame,* which is not now extant, and it is probably this unknown Sūtra that Manu has used.

38. Vi. XXVII, 26; Ga. I, 12—14; Ba. I, 3, 12; Āp. I, 1, 27; Va. XI, 71—73; Āś. Gṛ. I, 19, 5—6; Śā. Gṛ. II, 1, 6—8; Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 36—38; Khād. Gṛ. II, 4, 2—6; Go. Gṛ. II, 10, 4.

The passage in Vi. is a śloka which is word for word identical with that of Manu, and it is possible that Vi.'s is the original one, and Manu has borrowed from him. But Manu's text likewise agrees essentially with the Sūtras of Āp. and Va., either of which may have been and probably was the original source of this śloka.

39. Vi. XXVII, 27; Ga. XXI, 11; Va. XI, 74; Āś. Gṛ. I, 19, 8; Śā. Gṛ. II, 1, 9—13; Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 39, 43; Go. Gṛ. II, 10, 5; Yā. I, 38.

This verse likewise occurs word for word in Vi., and as in the preceding case, Manu has possibly if not probably drawn from him. The agreement with the other authorities is not close.

Yā.'s reading in part closely agrees with Manu's as well as Vi.'s, but these two being alike it is impossible to tell from which text Yā. has drawn. The fourth pāda agrees in sense with Pā. 43, which may well have been its source; but for the second pāda, *sarvadharmabahiṣkṛtāḥ* there seems to be no authority extant.

40. Āp. I, 1, 28; 2, 6; Va. XI, 75; Āś. Gṛ. 1, 19, 8; Śā. Gṛ. II, 1, 9—13; Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 39; Go. Gṛ. II, 10, 5; Yā. I, 38.

Va. and the Gr̥.-sūtras agree very closely, almost word for word, but as Manu does not resemble any of them in the text, the authority for this verse may have been an unknown Sūtra, or, it is an interpolation, based on the above authorities, and the aphoristic expressions of the Sūtras have been crowded out in the general treatment of the subject matter.

41. Ga. I, 16—21; Ba. I, 3, 14; Āp. I, 2, 39; 3, 9; Va. XI, 61—67; Vi. XXVII, 19—20; Āś. Gr̥. I, 19, 10; Śā. Gr̥. II, 1, 2, 4—5; Pā. Gr̥. II, 5, 16—19; Go. Gr̥. II, 10, 8—9; Hir. Gr̥. I, 4, 7; Yā. I, 29.

All authorities, except Yā. agree in the main as to the three skins composing the upper garments of the twice-born, but differ considerably as to the lower garments. There is no close agreement of text between Manu's verse and the passages in any one of the other authorities, but evidence is strong that in composing, the author has used several of them. Thus, *raurava-* has probably come from Āp., Va., Śā., or Gobh.; so, *bāstāni* and *carmāṇi,* as well as *avikāni* also, from Vi.; *śāṇa* from Ga. or Gobh.; *kārṣṇa* is not found elsewhere, but its equivalent is generally *kr̥ṣṇa.*

On the other hand, Yā. whose statement is very general, combining as he does, the contents of Manu's ślokas 41—47 in one line, has certainly not borrowed from Manu, but rather from one or more of the Sūtras, because he uses *ajina* instead of Manu's *carmāṇi,* and Yā.'s term is the one most used in the Sūtras.

42. Ga I, 15; Ba. I, 3, 13; Āp. I, 2, 33—37; Va. XI, 58—60; Vi. XXVII, 18; Āś. Gr̥. I, 19, 12; Śā. Gr. II, 1, 15—17; Pā. Gr̥. II, 5, 21—23; Go. Gr̥. II, 10, 10; Hir. Gr̥. I, 1, 17; Yā. I, 29.

As in the preceding verse, nearly all the authorities agree essentially with regard to the girdles worn by the three castes, yet each retains its individuality of expression. Also, as in the preceding verse, M. does not verbally agree with any one of them throughout, but with all in part. The term *mauñjī* is found in seven of the Sūtras; *trivr̥t* only in Āp.; *mekhalā* in Ga., Ba., and Āp.; *maurvī* in Ga. and Pā., but these authors have used the term to describe the girdle of the Vaiśya caste, and so cannot have been used by Manu; *jyā* in Ga., Āp. and Vi. while Ba., Va. and Śā. use *dhanurjyā*; finally, *śaṇatāntavī* only in Va. The

other terms used by Manu are plainly for metrical purposes. Thus, if we include an unknown Sūtra as authority for *maurvī*, we may say that he has borrowed from the Sūtras generally.

As under the preceding verse, Yā. has likewise probably drawn from the Sūtras.

43. Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 24.

The first line agrees with Pā. essentially, and has very likely been borrowed from him. By M.'s insertion of *kartavyāḥ*, plainly for the sake of the meter, Pā.'s genitive compound has been changed to an instrumental. The change from *muñjābhāve* to *muñjālābhe* might easily have crept in of itself, these terms being synonymous. The second line seems genuine and was probably taken from some unknown Sūtra.

44. Ba. I, 8, 5; Vi. XXVII, 19; Yā. I, 29.

Of the first two authorities, Vi. gives the fuller account, agreeing literally with Manu in the use of the principal terms used in describing the sacrificial cord, thus, *kārpāsa*, *upavīta*, *śaṇa* and *āvika*. Ba. agrees only in the use of one word, *upavīta*, and likewise Yā. But for the other terms of definition, *ūrdhvavṛta* and *trivṛt*, there is no authority, but they have probably come from an unknown Sūtra. As above, the rest may well have been taken from Vi.

Yā. as explained under v. 41 has probably drawn from one of the Sūtras.

45. Ga. I, 22—24; Ba. I, 3, 15; Āp. I, 2, 38; Va. XI, 52—54; Vi. XXVII, 21, 23; Āś. Gṛ. I, 19, 13; Śā. Gṛ. II, 1, 18—20; Pā. II, 5, 25—28; Go. Gṛ. II, 10, 11; Hir. Gṛ. I, 1, 17; Āp. Gṛ. 16, 6; Yā. I, 29.

Among these authorities there is great difference of opinion as to the kind of wood to be used for the staves. Manu unlike any of the others, gives a choice of two kinds for each caste. H. and Ga. give this choice to the Brāhmaṇa; in fact, the same as that given by Manu, and the latter reads, *bailvapālāsau*, so it is not unlikely that this is the original of Manu's expression. All but three authorities agree in the use of *audumbara*, and all, including Yā. in using *daṇḍa* for "staff". The expression *bailva* is used by Āś. to describe the staff of a Vaiśya, and by Pā. and Go., that of a Kṣatriya. There is no authority for the word *vāṭa*, 'fig-tree', but, as Ga. and Go. both use *āśvattha*, 'fig-tree', Manu may have and probably did use the shorter term

for the sake of the meter. *Khādira*, Manu must have taken from Vi. as there is no other authority for it. The Āp. Gṛ. gives to the Vaiśya the choice between the *bādara* and the *udumbara* wood, but he does not wholly agree with Manu. Whence he has taken *pailava* is not apparent. The word *audumbara* is used by all but Ga., Ba. and Go.

Thus, as none of the Sūtras contain all of the terms used by Manu, it is most likely that the Mānava-Sūtra also did not, and hence the source of this verse must have been Ga., Vi., and some unknown Sūtra.

Yā. as explained under v. 41, has probably drawn from one of the Sūtras.

46. Ga. I, 26; Ba., I, 3, 15; Va. XI, 55—57; Vi. XXVII, 22; Āś. Gṛ. I, 19, 13; Śā. Gṛ. II, 1, 21—24.

As regards the length of the staff for each caste, the authorities vary slightly. The four principal terms which come under consideration are, *keśa, lalāṭa, nāsa* and *pramāṇa.* Of these the first three are found in both Śā. and Vi., the similarity of Manu's readings to that of each of these being about equal, for where Manu has *keśāntiko,* Vi. has *keśānta-*, and Manu's *lalāṭasaṃmito* is exactly the reading given by Śā. But in this description of the staves, the latter has reversed the order of castes given by all the other writers, and hence must be disregarded as a source for Manu's verse. Now, Va. also gives the reading *lalāṭasaṃmitaḥ* as well as the usual order of castes and hence may be regarded as the source of this expression. From the similarity above referred to, *keśāntika* probably came from Vi. as well as *nāsāntika,* although only *nāsa* is used by Vi. The term *pramāṇa* occurs only in Ga. and Ba. and hence may have been borrowed from either. Thus, as sources of this śloka may be regarded the Sūtras of Vi., Va, and Ga., or Ba.

47. Ga. I, 25; Vi. XXVII, 24.

In content these two authorities agree in one condition only, viz., that the bark should be on the staves, but there is no verbal agreement. In this respect also Manu agrees with both, and uses the same term that Vi. uses, *satvacaḥ.* Manu further agrees with Vi., that the staves should be straight, and with Ga., that they should be without blemish, but other than the instance quoted there is no verbal agreement whatever, hence we may attribute this verse to Sūtras not now extant.

48. Ga. II, 8, 35; Āp. I, 3, 25; Hir. Gṛ. I, 7, 11—12; Śā. Gṛ. II, 6, 4; Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 1; Go. Gṛ. II, 10, 41—42; Yā. I, 29, b.

Ga. simply mentions 'begging' as a restricted occupation for students. Āp. gives the same a little fuller, and Pā. is equally as brief as Ga. Hir. reads *bhaikṣaṃ cara*, and Go. reads *bhaikṣaṃ carati*, which resembles M.'s *cared bhaikṣaṃ* somewhat more closely in personal construction, and thus may have been M.'s source. The reading *pradakṣinaṃ .... agniṃ* agrees with Śā., the further disagreement being explained by the fact that in part at least, Śā. places the action on the side of the teacher, while Manu, to preserve the harmony of narration has transferred the action to the student. Thus, with this explanation, there is nothing to oppose the assumption that this line has been derived from Go. and Śā. In Go. Gṛ. v. 41, the content is virtually the same as that in Manu's first line, if it can be assumed that by *suśravaḥ* the sun is meant, the lack of verbal agreement as explained above, seems plainly to be due to difference in the style of treatment, as Go. likewise places the action on the side of the teacher.

Yā. has probably drawn his entire line from Manu, as *cared bhaikṣaṃ* agrees exactly with the latter's reading, and the term *anindyeṣu* covers the contents of M. II, 183.

49. Ga. II, 36; Ba. I, 3, 16—17; Āp. I, 3, 28—30; Va. XI, 68—70; Vi. XXVII, 25; Āś. Gṛ. I, 22, 8; Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 2—4; Yā. I, 30.

The principal genuine terms used in this verse are *bhavatpūrva*, occurring also in Ba., Va., and Pā.; *cared bhaikṣam*-resembling Va.'s *bhikṣāṃ yācet*; *bhavanmadhya* used also by Ba., Va., Vi. and Pā.; and *bhavaduttaram* occurring nowhere else. The remaining terms have either been moulded or inserted to suit the meter. As the chief authority for this verse, preference must be given to Ba. as his reading resembles M.'s in more respects than that of the other writers. He has M.'s reading *bhavad madhyaṃ(tu) rājanyo* entire, with the exception of *tu*. Manu has doubtless changed Ba.'s *bhavadantyāṃ* to *°uttaraṃ* for the sake of the extra syllable.

Neither the text nor general treatment of Yā.'s verse resembles Manu's enough to warrant the assertion that he has drawn from him, but the evidence is quite convincing that Ga. was his real source. They agree verbally in four readings, viz., *ādimadhyā-* ....

bhavacchabda-, and in placing the first compound in the genitive plural.

50. Āś, Gṛ. I, 22, 6—7; Śā. Gṛ. II, 6, 5—6; Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 5—7; Go. Gṛ. II, 10, 43; Hir. Gṛ. I, 7, 13—14.

These writers differ here considerably and none go so much into detail as Manu. Śa., Hir. and Pā., the latter however, by way of quotation, all give authority for Manu's *mātaraṃ prathamaṃ*. Professor Bühler[1] has called attention to the similarity of the rule contained in this verse with that in the Mā. Gṛ.-sūtra, I, 22 (end). There appears to be little in the text of this passage to identify it with Manu's śloka, unless the expression *yāścānyāḥ suhṛdo* may be interpreted as meaning relatives as well as friends, which our author seems to have done, and expanded the phrases in order to fill out the verse, otherwise there is no explanation for the terms *svasāraṃ, mātur bhaginīṃ,* etc., for since there is no authority for them in the extant Sūtras, it is not likely that there is in those which coexisted with them. It is possible then, if not probable that this Gṛ.-sūtra, together with one of the three mentioned above, were the sources of this śloka.

51. Ga. II, 39—40; Āp. I, 3, 31—42; Vi. LXVIII, 40—41; Āś. Gṛ. I, 22, 10; Śā. Gṛ. II, 7; Pā. Gṛ. II, 5, 8; Go. Gṛ. II, 10, 44; Hir. Gṛ. I, 7, 18; Yā. I, 31a.

These authorities differ somewhat, though there is a general verbal agreement among the Gṛ.-sūtras, but the latter have almost nothing in common with Manu. Authority is not found for all the apparently genuine portions of this verse, but more than half of the terms, five including the first three pādas, are found either in Āp., Ga., or Vi., and may have been borrowed from them, but the last pāda has no parallel in the extant Sūtras, but as it appears to be genuine, it may have been taken from an unknown Sūtra.

Yā.'s line has not a single word in common with Manu. Two terms, *bhuñjītā* and *anujñayā* may be traced to Ga. and Śā., but, as the Dharma-sūtras do not mention the fire-sacrifice *kṛtāgni,* while the Gṛ.-sūtras do, though not in exactly these terms, it seems likely that Yā. has drawn from Śā. as well as from Ga. who also reads *vāgyata*. It is at any rate evident that Yā. has not used Manu's text here.

[1] Introd. p. xxxix, n. 3.

52. Mah. XIII, 104, 58b and 59a.

These two lines from the Mah. correspond literally with this śloka, with one exception, the former work reads *dhanyam* where Manu has *śriyam*, but the meaning is the same in both. But this variation seems to illustrate Professor Bühler's second conclusion[1], that the authors of both these works have not drawn from any law treatises, but from the floating sayings of the legal and philosophical schools, which already existed in metrical form.

53. Ga. II, 41; Ba. II, 5, 21; 12, 7; Vi. LXVIII, 34—35.

Though these authorities agree in general as to meaning, yet there is no similarity in the text. Manu especially has little or nothing in common, textually, with any of them, so it is not probable that he could have used them. But from the general agreement in sense, it is quite evident that he has drawn this verse from some unknown Dharma-sūtra.

54. Va. III, 69; Ba. II, 12, 7; Vi. LXVIII, 42—43; Yā. I, 31b.

In this verse there is apparently little that is genuine. Thus, if we take out *pūjayed aśanam*, *akutsayan* and *hṛṣyet*, the rest is superfluous, or at least does not add essentially to the sense, and is hence an interpolation. Authority is found only for the words quoted, thus *pūjayet* is found in both Va. and Vi., but with *abhi-*, which does not change the meaning, but would interfere with the meter. It is probable that Manu has borrowed from Va. because he also reads *aśanāni*, and *rocate*, which is the only and nearest authority for the idea expressed in Manu's *hṛṣyet prasīdet* and *pratinandet*. The word *akutsayan* occurs in a śloka which Ba. quotes from some other authority, possibly from a Yā. Dh.-sū., in as much as Yā. also uses this word. Thus we may assume that Va. and Ba. (?) were the sources of this verse.

Again it is clear that Yā.'s line has not been borrowed from Manu, but probably from a Yā. Dh.-sū., because there is no authority whatever for the first pāda, and hence we may assume that it with the second pāda, containing the word *akutsayan*, above explained, has been taken from the Sūtra, or if not, certainly from some other unknown Dharma-sūtra.

[1] Introd. p. xc.

55. There is no authority for this verse, and as it is of a very general character, it may be regarded as an interpolation.

56. Ba. II, 12, 9; 13, 11. Āp. II, 1, 2—3; Vi. LXVIII, 48; Yā. I, 112b[2].

There is no important verbal agreement with any of these authorities, who still, among themselves, agree quite closely. The only two cases in which Manu's text shows any similarity with these are, *antarā*, which occurs in a śloka quoted from some other source by Ba., and *ati* used by both Ba. and Vi. There is no authority extant for Manu's *ucchiṣṭaṃ* etc. and *ucciṣṭaḥ kvacid vrajet,* but there being no reason for supposing these to be later interpolations, it may be assumed that the source of this verse was a Dharma-sūtra not now extant.

Yā.'s pāda contains but one word in common with the other authorities, viz., *ati,* but this does not afford sufficient evidence that he has used any of them, and certainly not Manu, but he has probably drawn rather from some unknown Dharma-sūtra.

57. This verse is but an expansion, philosophical in character, of the preceding verse, and there being no other authority for its contents, it has with little doubt been interpolated by the author.

58. Ba. I, 8, 14; Va. III, 26; Vi. LXII, 6; Yā. I, 18b.

Of these authorities, Yā. agrees most closely with Manu, in that he uses *upaspṛśet* where the rest use *ācāmet,* yet both of these writers may have changed this word for the sake of the meter, and probably did, as, in v. 60 Manu uses *ācāmed-* in the same sense. The words *brāhmeṇa* and *tīrthena* he has probably taken from Ba. and not from Vi., because, like Manu, the former says nothing of sipping three times. Va. uses the same terms, but in the acc. sing. There is no authority for the rest of this verse or the remaining apparently genuine portions of it, viz., *kāyatraidaśikābhyāṃ* and *pitryeṇa,* which were very likely found in some unknown Dh.-sūtra.

Yā.'s reading agrees so closely with Manu's, that it is not improbable that he has drawn from the Manu-smṛti in this case: still it is possible too that he has also used Ba.'s text.

59. Ba. I, 8, 15—16; Va. III, 26; Vi. LXII, 1—4; Yā. I, 19.

If Manu has drawn from Ba. which is probable, from the use of *pracakṣate,* he has succeeded very well in concealing the fact. In text-reading he most closely resembles Ba., but in sense,

Vi. In the first line, however, he evidently has taken *aṅguṣṭha . . . brāhmaṃ* from Vi., changing the loc. into the gen. and inserting for the sake of the meter, the superficial term *tale,* or, as perhaps is more probable, from the use of the following *tīrthaṃ*, he has changed Ba.'s acc. construction into the gen. while the use of *tale* remains the same in either case. The second line is more confused; *Kāyam aṅgulimule* agrees in sense with Vi., while Ba. says nothing about *Ka,* or *Prajāpati,* thus we may call M.'s expression the briefest form of that of Vi. The phrase *(a)gre daivaṃ* agrees with both Ba. and Vi. in sense, and may have been abbreviated from either, for they both use the full form *aṅgulyagre,* or *°aṃ. Pitryaṃ tayoradhaḥ* agrees in sense with Vi. but is not found in Ba. and may have been derived, as above, from the former.

Yā. agrees with Manu throughout in matter, but similarity in text can be shown only in the case of a few words, *aṅguṣṭhamūlāny agraṃ, brāhma* and *tīrthāni.* Three apparently genuine terms are not found in the other authorities, and hence it is possible they may have been taken from a Yā. Sū. It is evident that Manu was at least not the only source for Yā.'s verse, while it is not improbable that Yā. found all his material in a Yā. Sū.

60. Ba. I, 8, 19—21; Ga. I, 36; Āp. I, 16, 2—10; Va. III, 27—29; Vi. LXII, 6—8; Go. Gṛ. I, 2, 5—9; Yā. I, 20.

Regarding the matter contained in this verse there is generally pretty close agreement among the above authorities. The text readings are also very similar, in many cases agreeing literally. Hence it is not unlikely that the Mā. Dh.-sū. contained all the materials of this verse, especially as there is no authority, direct, for Manu's term, *ātmānaṃ*, or indeed for *mukham,* and both seem to be genuine. Still there are some very close analogies between M.'s and Vi.'s texts; e. g. Vi. reads with Manu, *trir ācāmet, dviḥ pramṛjyāt,* which in just this form is nowhere else found, and *khāny adbhir . . . . . . spṛśet.* Further close agreements might be pointed out, but it seems unnecessary as the evidence is so strong that this verse may have been reproduced from the Mā. Sū.

Yā. has condensed into one line nearly all that is contained in Manu's verse. Five terms which do not easily admit of change of form without altering the meaning, agree exactly with Manu, while the remaining three have evidently served in moulding the

meter. Thus, *prāśya* is used for the usual *ācāmet; unmṛjya* for the most frequent form *pratimṛjyāt*, and Manu's and Vi.'s form *pramṛjyāt;* and *samupaspṛśet* which combines into one, all the occurring forms, *spṛśet* of M. and Vi., *upa°* and *saṃ°* of the other writers. While it is not unlikely that Yā. has borrowed from Manu, still, the last three forms treated seem to lead to the other conclusion that he has drawn from the Sūtras in general, and this especially, because as far as the meter is concerned, at least, there is no reason why he should have changed *pramṛjāt* to *unmṛjya*, if he were using Manu's work.

61. Ba. I, 8, 17; Āp. I, 15, 4—7; Va. III, 31; Vi. LXII, 5; Go. Gṛ. I, 2, 5, 22—23; Yā. I, 18a, 20b.

The apparently genuine portions of this verse, are the first line as far as *dharmavit*, and in the second line *ācāmed-* and *prāgudaṅmukhaḥ*. All are found in one or other of the above authorities, whose accounts agree in the main with that of Manu. The term *anuṣṇābhir-* probably came from Vi. although he further defines it by the insertion of *agni*. Ba. and Go. use the particle *na* instead of *a* privative. *Aphenābhir-* likewise is probably abbreviated from Vi.'s *aphenilābhir-*, or, this word with *adbhis-* may have come from Va. just as it is. The reading *ācāmet* is given by Vi., and *prāgudaṅmukhaḥ* is also doubtless abbreviated from Vi.'s *prāṅmukhaścodaṅmukho vā*. Thus, the possible if not probable sources of this verse are Vi., Ba. and Va.

There is no evidence that Yā. has made use of Manu here; but like Manu he has also borrowed from the other authorities, though some of his readings cannot be reconciled to them. In 18[a], his *śucan deśe* is exactly Ga.'s reading. Or, better still, this with the preceding phrase, *antarjānuḥ* and *udaṅmukhaḥ* with *prāgvā* are all found in Vi., the last term however, in the from *prāṅmukhaś-*. The only word remaining is *upaviṣṭe* of four syllables instead of Vi.'s *āsīna*, to fill out the meter.

Verse 20[b] is more difficult to explain, as but three words are traceable in the Sūtras, *adbhiḥ*, and *phenabudbudaiḥ*. The compound is construed with *hīnābhiḥ* instead of with the more usual *a* privative. Va. reads *adbhirabudbudābhiraphenābhir-* and is probably the source of this line, though Ba.'s reading is also somewhat similar. There is little or no resemblance to the other authorities, and the rest of the line is most likely an interpolation, as there is no other authority for it.

62. Ba. I, 8, 23; Vi. LXII, 9; Ga. I, 36; Va. III, 31—34; Go. Gṛ. I, 2, 29; Yā. I, 21.

With the exception of Ga. and Go. who do not treat the subject fully, all the authorities agree with Manu, excepting that they class a woman with the Śūdra Caste, while Manu says nothing about women. The text agreement likewise, so far as separate expressions are concerned, is very close. Ba. quotes a śloka from some other source, which could not have been the Mā. Sū. because it differs from our author's reading. Vi. also has written in this meter, but it likewise cannot have been the source of this verse, as the differences of reading are even greater than in the case of Ba. Manu uses the three syllable *bhūmipaḥ*, where the other writers use *kṣatriyaḥ*; no reason is apparent for this change. Finally, the entire verse seems to be genuine as it stands. Thus, the general agreement of all the authorities, and the above facts, seem to bear evidence that this verse has been taken bodily from the Mā. Dh.-sū. or some other, not now extant.

Yā.'s verse is word for word the same as Vi.'s, and has probably been taken from him.

63. Ba. I, 8, 5—10; Āp. I, 6, 18—19; Go. Gṛ. II, 2, 1—3.

Āp. has nothing in common with Manu. The other two authorities show but little similarity to each other in text reading, while both contain the most important terms used by Manu, though in a different construction. The presence of *ucyate* in this verse shows that it is not genuine. The term *uddhṛta* is used by both Ba. and Go. as well as *dakṣiṇa* und *savya*. *Upavītī* has probably been shortened from Go.'s *yajñopavītī* for the sake of the meter, and for the same reason, he uses *prācīnamāvītī* instead of Go.'s shorter form *prācīnāvītī*[1], *nivītī* and *kaṇṭha* have probably been taken from Ba. Thus, all the facts and conditions being satisfied by these two authors, they may be regarded as the source of this śloka.

64. Vi. XXVII, 29; Ba. I, 6, 6—9.

This verse corresponds to Vi.'s, word for word, while the description given by Ba. is very imperfect and concerns only the *kamaṇḍalu*. Vi.'s verse, as it occurs with three others at the end of this chapter must be regarded as suspicious. There is

[1] The Ku. MS. gives this form, but so divided as to furnish the desired extra syllable, thus, *prācīna āvītī*. cf. Jolly, Text. Notes, p. 289.

nothing about this verse to suggest that it has been tampered with by a late hand, so if it is true that Vi. has borrowed it from Manu, the latter has probably taken it from some other Sūtra.

65. Ga. II, 9; Āś. Gṛ., I, 18, 2; Pā. Gṛ. II, 1, 3; Go. Gṛ. III, 1, 1; Śā. Gṛ. I, 28, 19—20; Hir. Gṛ. II, 6, 15; Āp. Gṛ. 16, 12; Yā. I, 36.

Ga. simply refers to the *Godāna*, which is the same as the *Keśānta* ceremony. The first line of this verse finds counterparts in the other authorities as follows: *keśāntaḥ* is given only by Pā., *ṣodaśe varṣe* by Āt., Pā. (in the gen. case), Hir., Āp. Gṛ. and Śā. Thus Pā.'s text is probably the source of this line. The second line must be regarded as suspicious, at least, as there is no authority for its contents anywhere. Still, it is of course possible that the Mā. Sū. alone made the distinction between the Castes in this ceremony.

Yā. agrees both with Pā. and Manu and reads *keśāntaś-caiva ṣoḍaśe*, but preference must be given to the former as source, because nothing is said of the different castes.

66. Vi. XXVII, 13; Āś. Gṛ. I, 15, 10; 16, 6; 17, 19; Yā. I, 13.

Authority is found only in Vi. for *amantrikā .... strīṇāṃ*, though Āś. says essentially the same thing. The rest of the verse is probably spurious, as no authority whatever is given for any part of it, and its general tone and character show it to have been interpolated for the purpose of filling out the śloka.

Yā. reads *tūṣṇīm etāḥ kriyāḥ strīṇāṃ*, thus bearing more resemblance to Vi., who also uses *kriyāḥ*, than to Manu. Thus both authors have drawn from the same source.

67. Vi. XXII, 32; XXVII, 14; Yā. I, 13.

This verse is probably a later interpolation based on Vi.'s two sūtras, in the first of which he reads, *strīṇām vivāhaḥ saṃskāraḥ*, which nearly resembles Manu's much expanded reading, *vaivāhiko vidhīḥ strīṇāṃ saṃskāro vaidikaḥ smṛtaḥ*. In the second instance, Vi. has nothing in common with Manu. The source of Manu's second line was probably the customs prevalent at the time it was written. It does not seem likely that the material was found in a Dh.-sūtra, as all the existing Dh.-sūtras are silent on this entire question.

Yā. gives word for word Vi.'s reading with the order re-

versed, thus *vivāhastu samantrakaḥ*, so it must be that Vi.'s sūtra was his source.

68. This verse is introductory to the next topic, *Brahmacarya* and hence is clearly a later interpolation.

IV. Brahmacarya.

69. Ga. II, 6, 8, 10; Āś. Gṛ. I, 22, 1—2; Yā. I, 15.

There is no evidence of any influence on Manu by Ga. or Āś., the only agreement in text with Ga. being *saṃdhyā*. The general style of this verse gives evidence that it was intended to continue the introduction to the new theme, and is hence, a later interpolation, though based on ancient authority, possibly on the Sūtras generally, or possibly on the prevalent custom.

From the close agreement of text, Yā. has probably based his verse on M.'s, or possibly on the same sources as Manu's as there are some differences which cannot well be explained, excepting as in the case of Manu's śloka.

70. There is no authority apparent for the contents of this verse. But like the preceding, it has the semblance of having been based on genuine Sūtras and serves here in the general introduction, as is seen by its very summary character.

71. Ba. I, 3, 25—28; Āp. I, 5, 19, 23; Vi. XXX, 32; Śā. Gṛ. II, 7, 4—6; IV, 8, 15.

The accounts of the contents of this verse as given by the different authorities are quite dissimilar. Not a single word of Ba.'s text agrees with M., and practically the same may be said of Āp. and Śā., though all agree in a general way. Vi., on the other hand, has all of the principal readings of the first line, the only diffence being in construction and the use of the √*grabh*. Hence it is not unlikely that Vi.'s text is the source of this half of the verse. For the other half there is no authority; as it appears to be genuine, it may be attributed to some unknown Sūtras, or perhaps to custom.

72. Ga. I, 46; Āp. I, 5, 22; Ba. I, 3, 25; Vi. XXX, 32.

Authorities vary here also, but the closest agreement is between M. and Ba. but this only in the second line of M.'s śloka. Ba.'s construction is a little different from Manu's, in the use of the acc. instead of the nom., thus, *savyaṃ* and *dakṣiṇam*. M.'s *spraṣṭavya* does not occur elsewhere, and is plainly an interpolation for the meter's sake, as it is superfluous, after the use

of the genuine term ***kāryam upasaṃgrahaṇam***, which has apparently been borrowed from Vi. Likewise the compound *vyatyastapāṇinā* occurs nowhere else and is superfluous with the fuller account in the next line, and must therefore be regarded as spurious. The genuine portions then have come from Vi. and Ba.

73. Ga. I, 46: Śā. Gṛ. IV, 8, 12, 16—17.

The only similarity in text reading is in the use of the phrase *adhīṣva bho iti,* and even this has probably been changed from the genuine form as given by both Ga. and Śā., who read *adhīhi bho ity-.* It was probably done to gain an extra syllable. For the rest of this line it is likely that the source was an unknown Sūtra, because Śā. quotes other authority for the term *virāmas,* thus, *virāmas tāvad ityeke,* which does not much resemble Manu's reading. Manu's first line is probably an interpolation, but is of course necessary for the explanation of the second line, which as demonstrated, has probably been drawn from Ga. or Śā. and some other, non-extant Sūtra.

74. Ga. I, 57; Āp. I, 13, 6—7; Vi. XXX, 33; Śā. Gṛ. IV, 8, 12—13.

There is little or no evidence that Manu has used any of these authorities, who agree with each other in the main. Āp. is the only one who expressly says that the syllable *Om* is to be pronounced at the beginning of a lesson, and none say it must come at the end of a lesson. There is not ext agreement between Manu and the rest, excepting Vi. who also uses *praṇava.* Thus the source of this verse must have been either a non-extant Sūtra, and of these the latter must have the preferance, because of the silence of the other Sūtras in the points mentioned.

75. Ga. I, 48—50; Ba. II, 7, 5—7; Va. XXV, 13; Vi. LV, 9.

Manu agrees most nearly with Ga. in both meaning and text. The other authorities have little or nothing which could have been used by Manu, but Va. and Vi. both give ślokas describing the *prāṇāyāma,* which agree with each other verbally. But this only tends to prove the genuineness of Vi.'s śloka. Those terms which also occur in Ga. and which probably have been drawn from him are *prāktūlān, prāṇāyāmaiḥ* and *tribhiḥ,* but all are used in a different construction. There is no authority for *pavitraiḥ, pāvitaḥ,* or for *oṃkāramarhati,* but as they appear to be genuine, they may have occurred in some Sūtra not now extant,

and been borrowed from it. Thus, as sources of this verse may be regarded Ga. and some unknown Sūtra.

76—87. Vi. LV, 10—21; Ba. II, 11, 6; 7, 15, 22; IV, 1, 29, 26; Va. XXVI, 4; 9—11; X, 5; XXV, 11; Yā. I, 23; 22.

With very few variations in reading this entire section is found in Vi., the passage referred to. The subject matter of this as well as of the following section, vv. 88—100, is entirely foreign to the subject under discussion and a comparison of the verses immediately preceding, with those immediately following, clearly shows them to have been interpolated, as they are simply semi-parenthetical, philosophical reflections which have been suggested by the syllable *om* treated in the preceding verse (75). Verse 76 undertakes to define the origin of this sacred syllable, and also seems to serve as an introduction to the matter treated in the following verses as far as 87. But in spite of the apparently logical sequence of this verse from the preceding, it must nevertheless be classed with those following as an interpolation, first, because it belongs with the section as given by Vi., and second, because the logical sequence is much more natural and evident between vv. 75 and 101, for in the latter verse the narration begun in v. 73 is continued in the same style and in the same legal diction.

The question now arises whence came these verses which agree so closely with Vi.? Has Manu borrowed them from Vi. or has Vi. taken them from Manu or, have both drawn from a common source? In Vi. these verses occur in a section at the end of Chap. LV, composed of 15 ślokas. Of these 15 ślokas (7—21), are those already referred to as agreeing with M's section (10—21); the first (v. 7) occurs with a slight change in reading, in Manu XI, 261, but the other two, 8 and 9 are not found in M.

Manu quotes this section under the topic *"Brahmacarya"*, while Vi. quotes it in his chapter on *"Prāyaścittāni"*, and these verses, excepting 7 and 8 are as far removed in character, from the matter discussed in the preceding sūtras of Vi. as from that discussed in Manu; hence we must conclude that Vi. too has interpolated them. The logical sequence of M. 76 with the verse preceding has already been pointed out. So in the case of Vi., there seems to be no connection between the last sūtra and the opening verse of the metrical passage, but it is clear that this first verse (7) is properly inserted under the title of *"Prāyaścit-*

tāni", even if Manu too had not introduced it under the same heading in Chap. XI. Likewise v. 8 is in place and may have been suggested by the phrase in v. 7, *sarvapāpāpanodakaṃ*. Why it did not also occur to the author of the Manu-smṛti to insert this verse is not apparent. Further, verse 9, being a description of *prāṇāyāma* of the preceding verse, follows it quite naturally; and in like manner, v. 10 follows v. 9, as it explains the syllable *Om*. Now, in just the same way, the syllable *Om* in M. 75 has suggested to our author to introduce in the next verse the same description of this syllable as that given by Vi. Then follows the long discussion, parallel in both works, which is merely a philosophical exposition of the proper use of the sacred syllables and vedic texts. Thus, this section being shown to have been interpolated by both authors independently of each other, evidently the only conclusion to be drawn is that both authors have quoted these verses from a common authority, which is still unknown to us.

As above mentioned, there are here and there in this section, certain variations in the text reading, but instead of discussing them verse by verse as they occur, it may be well to deviate from the usual plan, and subjoin a table of the changes and treat them as a whole, for it seems evident that all must be treated alike

Vi. 10,	*niraduhad-*	=	*niravṛhad-*	M. 76.
11,		=		77.
12,		=		78.
13,		=		79.
14,	*etattraya*	=	*etayarcā*	80.
—	*vipra*	=	*brahma*	—
—	*jātir-*	=	*yonir-*	—
15,	*gāyatrī*	=	*sāvitrī*	81.
16,		=		82.
17,	*nānyan-*	=	*nāsti*	83.
18,	*sarva*	=	*sarvā*	84.
19, 20, 21		=		85, 86, 87.

All of these variations are unimportant as far as the sense is concerned, for in no case is the meaning of the verse essentially altered; and in view of the discussion above, it seems most natural to attribute them to the slight changes of text which must have crept in at all times in the verbal transmission. These variations too, may serve to strengthen the conclusion that both

authors have quoted independently of each other, or more correctly, that Vi. wrote independently of Manu, for these changes could not have crept in if he had copied from Manu's written text; thus it is more evident still that both authors have drawn from a common source. Some of the Mss.[1] of Manu give the reading of Vi. 10, *niruduhad*, and others, (G. R. and Nd.), that of Vi. 15, *gāyatrī*, and similarly, some of the Vi. Mss.[2] give in v. 17, the reading of M. 83, *paraṃ nāsti*, and so on, but a discussion of this subject would only lead at most, to a decision as to which of the two authors had quoted the more accurately, but as this evidently would in no way change the aspect of the question at issue, it seems best to pass over it.

There is little or nothing of importance to be gathered from a comparison with the parallel passages quoted from Va. and Ba. The latter has nothing in the text common with Manu. Of those in Va., the first, X, 5 agrees with M. 83 exactly, only as far as the first line. As the aphorism therein contained seems to have been fundamental and universally accepted, it is not improbable that it existed apart from those in whose connection it occurs in M. and Vi., and hence Va. has acquired it independently of this śloka section. But not so with the ślokas XXVI, 9, 10 and 11, for these agree word for word with M. 85, 86, 87, and the corresponding verses of Vi., with the exception of one term, *ārambha-*, which has clumsily been inserted, thereby spoiling the meter, for the two-syllable term *vidhi-*, of M. and Vi. This entire section has been shown to be not genuine by Professor Bühler[3], hence it may be that the author of Va. has likewise drawn these verses from the same source that M. and Vi. have used. It is interesting to note that Va. like Vi. has introduced these verses under the heading of "*Prāyaścittāni*".

As regards the two quoted passages from Yā., there is no evidence in the text that he has borrowed from Manu, nor is it at all certain that he has made use of the other Sūtras, although some six words are traceable to Ga., Vi., Va., and Ba.; thus *japaḥ* (22) occurs in Ga. XXIII, 21; *gāyatrīṃ śirasā*, *vyāhṛti-* and *praṇava-* in Va. XXV 13, and Ba. IV, 1, 28, both of which are verbally equivalent ślokas and are quoted; and finally, *japed-*

[1] Ku. R. and V.; cf. Jolly, Text, p. 289.
[2] cf. Jolly: Viṣṇu Text, footnote, p. 129.
[3] SBE. vol. XIV, p. xxiii.

occurs in Vi. LXIV, 36 in a similar connection in which the first word *snātaś-* might have suggested Yā.'s *snānam*, v. 22. Two of these terms are useless as a means to be employed in the present purpose, for they occur at random in all the authorities, Manu included, and the remaining five, *japaḥ*, *śirasā*, *praṇava-*, *japed-* and *snātas*, occurring as they do in passages but slightly allied in meaning with those of Yā., can only serve to show that the latter did not draw from Manu, but rather, if not from the Sūtras in general, extant and non-extant, then probably from the generally prevalent custom.

88—100. This section deals with matter of a philosophical nature which is entirely foreign to the discourse in the preceding and following verses, being one of those philosophical sections already referred to under vv. 1—5 which are based on the Sānkhya Philosophy of Kapila.

101. Ga. II, 10—11; Ba. II, 7, 12—14; Āp. I, 30, 8; Va. VII, 16; Vi. XXVIII, 2—3; Śā. Gṛ. II, 9, 1—3; Āś. Gṛ. III, 7, 3—6; Āp. Gṛ. 11, 8; Yā. I, 24—25.

The descriptions of the morning and evening devotions as found in the above works, vary considerably. All but those, in the Gṛ.-sūtras are more or less brief. The latter alone give full descriptions, and in this respect more nearly resemble Manu's verse. As far as the text is concerned, four of Manu's terms, *arka*, *samyak*, *ṛkṣa* and *vibhāvanāt* are wanting in the other authorities, but the rest are all found now in one, now in another. Thus it is not likely that all were found in the Mā. Dh.-sū. Āś., or Śā, as they are alike here, and Vi. seem to have exerted the strongest influence on Manu, but their influence has been separate, as shown by the fact that the terms found in each are not in all cases the same. But it will not do to assert that these writers were the only sources, because in nearly every case, terms used by them are also found in one or more of the other authors, and hence, these too must be acknowledged as sources. The four terms above mentioned which are unaccounted for, may have occurred in the Mā. Sū. or some other unknown Sūtra, or the author may have inserted them as suiting metrical purposes better than the more usual and genuine ones.

Though in a number of cases Yā.'s text resembles Manu's quite closely, still it cannot be said that he used M. exclusively, if at all, both because all of these terms are also found in the

other works, and because fully half of the words used are not found elsewhere, thus pointing to some other unknown yet strongly influential source, not unlikely the Yā. Sū.

102. Ba. II, 7, 18, 20; Va. XXVI, 2—3.

It is not improbable that this verse has been built up from the Mā. Dh.-sū. or some other unknown Sūtra, as well as those of Va. which occur in one of the four suspicious chapters of that work, inasmuch as M. and Va, agree in the use of five terms, viz. *pūrvāṃ*, *saṃdhyāṃ*, *vyapohati*, *paścimāṃ* and *(sam-)āsīnaḥ*. M. agrees in sense with Ba., but only one term, *saṃdhyāṃ* is common to both, and Ba. has openly quoted his verses from some other source. Thus, it is clear that this verse has been composed independently of either Va. or Ba.

103. Ba. II, 7, 15.

Ba. has quoted his verse from some other source. Only four of his terms are used by M., viz: *pūrvāṃ*, *paścimām*, *nopās(a)te* and *śūdra*, and the sense is essentially the same in both. Thus it is possible that both have drawn from the same source, probably some unknown Dh.-sū. Another possibility is, if Ba.'s śloka is older than M.'s, it may have been responsible for M.'s verse. But judging from the tenor of Ba.'s ślokas and from his manner of introducing them, saying that they have been proclaimed by Prajāpati, they have been taken bodily it would seem, from some very ancient work. If this work were the Mā. Dh.-sū. there seems to be no reason why our author should not have copied both verses verbatim, as Ba. has done, likewise if he has copied from Ba., especially because Prajāpati was claimed to be the original source.—Thus, the first possibility seems to come nearer the truth, i. e. both authors have composed their ślokas independently, but using as a foundation some sūtra which was ascribed to Prajāpati.

104. Ba. II, 11, 6.

There is no similarity of text between this verse and that of Ba., and in the absence of other authorities, we may attribute this verse, though not necessarily in its present metrical form, to some Dh.-sū. not now extant.

105. Āp. I, 12, 9; Va. XIII, 7.

There is no indication, either as regards meaning or text, that Manu has in any way made use of these authorities, but as

the contents are apparently genuine, the source of this verse might have been a Sūtra not now extant.

106. Āp. I, 12, 3—5.

Āp.'s sūtras are similar to a passage from the Vājasaneyibrāhmaṇa[1], but have apparently not been used by Manu in composing the main theme of this verse, although he may have been familiar with them, as is evident from the expression *vaṣaṭkṛtam*. On what source this śloka in its entirety is based is not certain, but possibly on a Dh.-sū. which is not now extant.

107. Vi. XXX, 34—38; Āś. Gṛ. III, 3, 1—3; Yā. I, 41—46.

There is evidence that Manu has drawn at least parts of this verse from Vi. and Āś., who do not entirely agree with each other textually. Some of M.'s expressions occur in both these authorities, such as *adhīte, payas* and *madhu*, but as many others, *svādhyāyam-, (upa-)kṣarati* and *ghṛtaṃ* occur only in Āś.; thus it is not unlikely that all were taken from Āś., for there are none in Vi. which are not also in Āś. The term *dadhi* together with other apparently genuine terms such as *abdaṃ niyataḥ* and *śuciḥ* seem to point to another Sūtra work as a second or third source of this verse; though it is still possible that these terms have been interpolated, *niyataḥ* being suggested by the preceding discussion (88—100) on 'restraining the organs', and *śuciḥ* is perhaps unnecessary, but *abdaṃ* is not so easily to be accounted for, because the sense of the entire verse is essentially modified by the insertion of it. In fact the main difference between this verse and those of Vi. and Āś., lies in the use of this word, so that evidence is strong that another source must be attributed to this verse, which was used either indepedently of, or in connection with Vi. and Āś. This of course must have been some unknown Sūtra.

A mere glance at the section quoted from Yā. is sufficient to show that he has in no respect borrowed from M. or even taken him as a pattern, but that he has rather imitated Āś. or Vi. But a careful text comparison with these authors shows differences which cannot be accounted for otherwise than by attributing another source to Yā.'s section, which was probably not the same as that used by Manu, because these two texts have so little in common. It is however, possible if not probable

[1] Śat. Brāh. XI, 5, 6, 9. cf. also Bühler, SBE. II, p. 45, v. 3, footnote, and SBE. XXV, p. 49, v. 106, footnote.

that Yā. has borrowed from Āś. or Vi., as well as from a Sūtra which is unknown to us.

108. Ga. II, 8, 30, 35; Ba. I, 3, 16; 4, 4—8; Āp. I, 4, 16, 23; 5, 25; Va. VII, 9, 15; Vi. XXVIII, 4, 7, 9, 12; Yā. I, 25 b.

In this verse there are unmistakable traces of the texts of Ga. and Vi., while the other authorities, agreeing in general as to sense, differ among themselves more or less in their forms of expression. M.'s first compound. *agnīndhanaṃ* is found in Ga.; *bhaikṣacaryām* a four syllable compound has doubtless been cut down for metrical purposes from Ga.'s five-syllable form *bhaikṣa-caraṇe,* or °*aṃ,* (also in Vi.); *adhaḥ śayyāṃ* occurs also in Vi.; finally, *gurorhitam* has likewise been abbreviated for the sake of the meter from Vi.'s form, *guraḥ priyahitā-*. Of the remaining terms in this verse, the only important one for our purpose seems to be *samāvartanāt,* for which there is no authority in the other writers. This being so, it is not very likely that it occurred in any Sūtra, but it may have crept in through the influence of the custom prevalent at the time of our author's writing.

Yā.'s reading agrees with Manu's in the use of one word only, *kuryāt.* If he were borrowing from Manu, he might have used his term *agnīndhanaṃ,* which is used in precisely the same sense and contains the same number of syllables as *agnikāryam.* What the source of this verse may have been is not clear. In sense it agrees practically with Vi. 4, but there is no similarity of text whatever. It is at any rate evident that he has not drawn from M.'s text.

109. Yā. I, 28.

Both authors claim the Dharma as the source of their ślokas, but nearer than that, it is impossible to determine, as all the extant Sūtras are silent on this subject. Both authors designate ten persons who may be instructed in the Veda, but as to who these ten persons are, the two texts agree in only four instances, namely, *śuciḥ*, *āptaḥ*, *śakta* and *sādhuḥ*. Thus, whatever M.'s source may have been, Yā. did not borrow from him, nor have both used the same source.

110. Ba. I, 4, 2; Āp. I, 32, 22—24; Va. II, 12.

There is very little in the above references to identify with Manu's verse—nothing whatever in Āp. The passages in Ba. and Va. are both ślokas, which, though differing somewhat in

the position and construction of many of the terms, practically agree as to meaning. Va. has quoted his śloka entire from some other authority unknown. These facts are significant in showing that these ślokas are genuine and that there must have been one common source for both. All possible connection with these ślokas lies in M.'s first line which seems to be an attempt to boil down the idea more formally expressed by the other writers. If this is so, Ba. is probably responsible for the terms *(a-)pṛṣṭaḥ* and *brūyān na*, especially the latter, because Va. uses *prabrūyāc-*. In the process of abbreviation it was necessary to use some such general expression as *cānyāyena pṛcchataḥ*. The second line carries out the same idea, but whether it is based on genuine authority, or is a later interpolation, is not apparent.

111. Vi. XXIX, 7.

Manu agrees with Vi. here word for word, and as there seems to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of the latter's śloka, or better, of the entire chapter, it may be considered as the source of Manu's śloka. Likewise the following verse,

112. Vi. XXIX, 8; Ba. I, 4, 1; Sa. Up. III, (p. 30, Burnell).

agreeing word for word with Vi., may have been borrowed from him. The passage in Ba. also agrees literally with M.'s and Vi.'s first lines. Ba.'s second line agrees both in meaning and essential wording with M. 112ᵇ and 113. Thus the greater compactness of Ba.'s verse seems to show clearly that it is the original one from which one of the other two authors has drawn. There is no reference in Vi. to Ba.'s expression *vidyā saha martavyam*, whereas Manu has taken it for the theme of a new verse, 113, but the source of this expression as well as the rest of Ba.'s second line is in all probability the passage referred to in the Sa. Up. As there seems to be no reason to doubt the priority to Manu, of the passages of both Ba. and Vi., we may regard Ba. as the source of Vi.'s śloka perhaps, and this in turn, the source of M. 112, while v. 113 has been built up from Ba. 1ᵇ, but why Vi. has ignored this line is not apparent. Thus, as sources for vv. 111 and 112 we may adduce Vi. and of v. 113, Ba.

114—115. Nir.[1] II, 4; Sa. Up. III, (pp. 29—30 Burn.), Va. II, 8—9; Vi. XXIX, 9—10.

---

[1] Ed. Roth, p, 41. Calcutta Ed., vol. II, p. 172.

These two verses belong together, and may receive the same treatment. With the slight exception in the use of the enclitic ***mā*** for the fuller form ***māṃ***, in Nir. the above authorities excepting Sa. Up. agree with each other verbally, all using the Triṣṭubh meter. The first of these two Triṣṭubh verses occurs in meaning in the Sa. Up., but as there is little similarity in it to Manu's śloka, this work may be disregarded. Of the three remaining authorities, the Nirukta may safely be regarded as the source of the two Triṣṭubh verses. That Manu's ślokas are reversifications of these into the Anuṣṭubh meter, there can be little or no doubt whatever, as is evidenced by the many points of verbal agreement throughout, and the meaning being exactly the same in all cases. While it is possible to claim the Nir. as the ultimate source of M.'s ślokas, still it seems more probable that he has drawn directly from Vi.; first, because as shown above, he owes to Vi. the two preceding ślokas, and second, because he discontinues with Vi. the matter under discussion, while both the authorities Va. and the' Nir. still carry it on to some length.

116. Vi. XXX, 41—42.

The two passages in Vi. are sūtras, the contents of which correspond exactly to the contents of M.'s śloka, and not only that, but the identity of half of Manu's expressions with those of Vi. seems to give ample evidence that Manu has simply versified his two sūtras. The differences in expression and grammatical form may be explained on purely metrical grounds.

117. Vi. XXX, 43; and others.

In this verse, M.'s text agrees literally with that of Vi. as far as the end of the third pāda. In the fourth pāda the chief difference lies in the use of *abhivādayet* by Manu where Vi. uses ***na druhyet***, while *kadācana* fills out the meter, corresponding to M.'s *pūrvam-*. Of the two readings, that by Vi. seems to be the original one, and hence the source of Manu's verse, for the following reasons. 1. Vi.'s verse follows immediately upon the two sūtras from which Manu has made up the preceding śloka, thus showing by continuity that it was there when M. versified the two sūtras. 2. In the metrical passage of Viṣṇu the topic ***Abhivādana*** is not under discussion, but on the contrary, stress seems purposely to be laid on *druhyet*, as it occurs again in the very last line, thus being honored, obviously for the sake of

emphasis by a first and last position in the discussion. 3. and finally, in the case of Manu, the topic under discussion in the verses following is *Abhivādana*, and hence this verse of Vi.'s may very properly be regarded as having been changed by Manu to serve his purpose as an introductory verse.

118. For this verse there is no parallel passage in the other extant Sūtras, but it is quite apparent, from a divergence which it shows from the main theme, that it is an interpolation, though probably based on good authority.

119. Ga. II, 21, 25; Āp. I, 8, 11.

These passages taken together are essentially the equivalent of Manu's śloka, and may be regarded as the foundation of it. They are all in sūtra form and it may be readily shown how our author has expanded them into verse. Thus, beginning with Āp. whose reading *śayyāsane cācarite nāviśet* contains the elements of M.'s first line. The latter, not needing the *ca* has inserted in its stead the preposition *adhi*; *śreyasā*, being supplied by the author serves to fill out both the meter and the sense; and Āp.'s *āviset* has been lengthened to *samāviśet* for metrical purposes only. Manu's second line seems a little more complicated in construction, but most of the terms are traceable to Ga. Thus, *śayyāsanasthaś-* is but a slight change from Ga.'s *śayyāsana-sthānāni* in sūtra 25; *caivainaṃ* fills out the meter if not the sense, and *pratyutthāya* is a slightly altered and lengthened form of Ga.'s *utthāyī* in sū. 21; this expression was probably suggested to Manu by the preceding *adhaḥ śayyāsanī* in the same sūtra; finally, Manu has substituted for Ga.'s form, *pratiśravaṇaṃ*, the more appropriate *abhivādayet*, for the same reason as in v. 117, it is his purpose here to treat the topic *abhivādana*. Thus Manu is indebted for this verse to both Āp. and Ga.

120. Mah. XIII, 104, 66.

The two passages agree with each other literally with but one slight difference in reading, viz., Manu has *pratyutthāna*, instead of *abhyutthāna* as in the Mah. But just as in the other cases, (vv. 29 and 52) where so close agreement with the Mah. occurs, Manu has not borrowed from it, but the authors of both works have drawn on the same source.

121. Āp. I, 5, 15; Ba. I, 3, 26.

Though in contents Manu's verse resembles in some measure those of both of these authors, still there is no evidence that he

could have drawn from them, the only point of text-similarity being in Āp.'s use of ihe word *āyuś*. Thus the source must have been some unknown Dh. Sū.

122. Ga. VI, 5; Ba. I, 3, 27; Āp. I, 5, 12; Va. XIII, 44; Vi. XXVIII 17; Śā. Gr. IV, 12, 5; Yā. I, 26.

There is but little in the text of this verse to identify it with any of the above quoted passages, nothing whatever in the first line, which has never-the-less apparently been taken from some Sūtra, probably a Dh.-sū. In the second line the formula *asau nāmāhamasmīti* is nowhere else found in just this form which is doubtless lengthened for metrical reasons. The nearest approach to it is perhaps the expression used by Āp., Ba., and Śā., viz., *asāvahaṃ bho iti*, where the main point of difference lies in the use of *bho*, while M.'s term *nāma* also does not occur. The exclamation *bhoḥ* does not seem to have been a universally necessary part of the salutation, from the fact that Ga. omits it, and as he is the oldest authority, it is not unlikely that the formula later underwent this change. If this is so it is sufficient reason for the alleged "Manu Prajāpati" to omit it. Finally, *svaṃ nāma parikīrtayet* nearly resembles in meaning if not in form, Ga.'s *sva nāma procya-*, and it is possible that Manu has borrowed here, using the lengthened form *parikīrtayet* to fill out the meter. Thus it is possible that Manu has made use of Ga. and one of the other three authors Āp., Ba. and Śā. in composing the second line though the evidence is not conclusive.

There is some evidence here that Yā may have drawn on M. 121—122 for the first line of his śloka inasmuch as the essential terms occur also in these two verses, and like M. he has omitted *bhoḥ* in the formula, besides reading *asau*. It is still possible, however, that the author of the Yā.-smṛti has made these changes for reasons similar to those given above for Manu, and this seems the more probable from the presence of the unnecessary terms *tato* and *bruvan*, unnecessary in a double sense, if the author were copying from Manu, on account of the excessive amount of material in the latter's śloka 122. Yā.'s second line is not represented in the Sūtras, but it may have come from an unknown one.

123. Va. XIII, 45.

Va.'s sūtra is very brief, and while it is intended to convey a meaning similar to that of M.'s śloka, there is no text simil-

arity whatever, between the two. Thus the source of this verse must be in some other Dh.-sū. not now extant.

124. Vi. XXVIII, 17.

The passage from Vi. is a sūtra and agrees very closely with the first line of M.'s śloka, both in meaning and in text, and is apparently its source. Manu has made some necessary changes for metrical purposes, the most important one being the substitution of *kīrtayed-*, of three syllables to *nivedayet.* Otherwise, the entire line is represented in Vi. word for word. The second line does not appear in the extant Sūtras, and its source is therefore unknown.

I have discontinued the comparisons in Chap. II at this point with the conviction that further investigations would only add to the bulk of this article without affording any new important evidence in support of what has already been established in the preceding discussion. But to satisfy myself that the analysis would yield the same results if carried throughout the work, I have made a similar comparison of one verse chosen at random from each of the ten succeeding chapters, which however, may be omitted in publication.

CONCLUSION.

The preceding comparative analysis may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, with regard to the Manu-smṛti. In all, 134 ślokas have been brought under discussion, but since the matter therein contained has been treated, not entirely in order according to ślokas, but variously, sometimes in sections of ślokas, sometimes in lines, pādas and even single terms, it seems best for the sake of convenience, to designate these various subdivisions by a single term, such as *passage.* Thus the total number of passages treated is 167. Of these, there are 46, the sources of which were undoubtedly some Sūtra or Sūtras which are not now extant. The sources of 7 others are for various reasons either doubtful, or unknown. Sixteen passages, of which twelve are entire ślokas, are pure interpolations by the author or compiler of the work, while four more have been derived from Kapila's Sānkhya-System

of Philosophy. But there are 99 passages or more than half the total number treated, the sources of which have been traced with a greater or less degree of certainty to one or more of the extant Dharma- or Gṛhya-sūtras.

Second, in the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the total number of passages treated is 46. One third of these, or 15 have been drawn, without doubt from unknown or non-extant Sūtras, while in the case of 5 others, the sources may possibly have been unknown Sūtras. Twenty-six passages (again more than half of the total number) have as their sources, with more or less certainty, one or more of the extant Dharma- or Gṛhya-sūtras. But there are but four passages in which evidence is clear that they have been taken from the Manu-smṛti, while it is possible that five others have come from that source.

Thus, finally, if the sections chosen from these two Smṛtis may be taken as being fairly representative of the entire works, and although in some cases where there is verbal agreement between the texts of Manu and Yājñavalkya and two or more Dharma-sūtras, it is of course possible that the Mānava and Yājñavalkīya Dharma-sūtras likewise contained the same reading, still, these figures will serve, in a measure, to show to what extent the authors of these metrical Smṛtis have drawn on the Dharma- and Gṛhya-sūtras, and how far they are indebted to the philosophical schools and those "other sources", which must always remain unknown, for that mass of material which has been employed in welding together the genuine Sūtra portions of these Smṛtis into their present conglomerate form, and has contributed largely in giving to them their universal character.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Āpastamba: Aphorisms on the Sacred Laws of the Hindus; Text, ed. by Dr. George Bühler C.I.E. Part I. Bombay, 1892. BSS. No. XLIV.

— Translated by Georg Bühler in Sacred Books of East, vol. II, Oxford, 1879.

Baudhāyanadharmaśāstra: Text ed. by E. Hultzsch, Ph. D., in Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes. VIII. Band. No. 4.
— Translated by Georg Bühler in SBE., vol. XIV. Oxford, 1882.
Gautama: The Institutes of, Text ed. by Adolf Friedrich Stenzler. London, 1876.
— Translated by Georg Bühler in SBE., vol. II. Oxford, 1879.
Mānava-Dharma-śāstra: Text ed. by J. Jolly, Ph. D. London, 1887.
— Tranlated by G. Bühler in SBE., vol. XXV. Oxford, 1886.
Vasishṭa: Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Āryas etc. Text ed. by Rev. Alois Anton Führer, Ph. D. Bombay, 1883.
— Translated by Georg Bühler in SBE., vol. XIV. Oxford, 1882.
Vishṇu: The Institutes of, Text, ed. by Julius Jolly, Ph. D. Calcutta, 1881.
— Translated by Julius Jolly, in SBE., vol. VII. Oxford, 1880.
Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch: Sanskrit und Deutsch, herausgegeben von Dr. Adolf Friedrich Stenzler. London, 1849. Berlin.
Āpastambīya Gṛhya-sūtra, The; Text ed. by Dr. M. Winternitz. Vienna, 1887.
— Translated by Hermann Oldenberg in SBE., vol. XXX. Oxford, 1892.
Āśvalayana Gṛhya-sūtra: Text, herausgegeben von Adolf Friedrich Stenzler, in Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes. III. Band. No. 4. Leipzig, 1864.
— Translated by Hermann Oldenberg in SBE., vol. XXIX, Oxford, 1886.
Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra: Text, herausgegeben von Friedrich Knauer. Dorpat, 1884.
— Translated by Hermann Oldenberg in SBE., vol. XXX. Oxford, 1892.
Hiraṇyakeśin: Gṛhya-sūtra of, Text ed. by Dr. J. Kirste. Vienna, 1889.
— Translated by Hermann Oldenberg in SBE. vol. XXX. Oxford, 1892.
Khādira Gṛhya-sūtra: Text and Translation by Hermann Oldenberg, in SBE. vol. XXIX. Oxford, 1886.
Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra; Text. Bombay Saṃrat 1946, (1889).
— Translated by Hermann Oldenberg in SBE. vol. XXIX. Oxford, 1886.

Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra: Text (und Uebersetzung) herausgegeben von Dr. Albrecht Weber in Indische Studien XV. Band. Leipzig, 1878.

— Translated by Hermann Oldenberg in SBE. vol. XXIX. Oxford, 1886.

Jāska's Nirukta sammt den Nighaṇṭavas, herausgegeben von Rudolph Roth. Göttingen, 1852.

Saṃhitopanishadbrāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda. Sanskrit Text &c. ed. by A. C. Burnell Ph. D. Mangalore, 1877.

Mahābhārata. Text, 4 vols. Calcutta, 1834—1839.

Jolly: Outlines of an History of the Hindu Law. Calcutta, 1885.

M. Müller: A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature. London, 1859.

v. Schroeder: Indiens Literatur und Cultur in Historischer Entwickelung. Leipzig, 1887.

Burnell-Hopkins: The Ordinances of Manu. (Introduction). London, 1884.

Johaentgen: Ueber das Gesetzbuch des Manu. Berlin, 1863.

Hopkins: The Mutual Relations of the Four Castes according to the Mānavadharmaśāstram. Leipzig, 1881.

West and *Bühler:* A Digest of the Hindu Law. Third edition. Vol. I. Bombay, 1884.

Indische Studien, I Band, herausgegeben von Dr. Albrecht Weber. Berlin, 1850.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XI, New-Haven, 1885.

Zeitschrift d. d. *Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.* XXXVI Band. Leipzig, 1882.



PRINTED BY W. DRUGULIN, LEIPZIG.